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## THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN IRELAND.

THAT so much time has been occupied in discussing the new Irish Coercion Bill is much to be regretted, inasmuch as the general course of legislation has been thus unseasonably interrupted; but it was neither to be expected nor wished that a Bill involving so many new principles and arming the Executive with so many novel powers should go through the Commons too hastily. The result of the debate on the Second Reading was to make it perfectly apparent that the Bill is urgently needed, and is likely to be very effectual. The Irish members who tried to make out that the state of things is not so very bad even in the worst Irish districts made no impression on the common sense of an Assembly which remembered that in those districts property cannot be insured against fire, gentlemen cannot drive out lest their coachmen should be killed, and no one can exercise any act of ownership over land except at the peril of his life. The condition of Ireland is as bad as it well can be, and when we give credit to the Executive and to the police for the amount of crime which, as Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE alleges, they prevent, the state of things looks very black indeed. The Irish people are to a very great extent banded against all order, law, and government. A reign of terror prevails which by no means affects the rich exclusively, or even principally. The humblest and the poorest are made the victims or the accomplices of an audacious lawlessness. Therefore the Bill is a necessity, and few Irishmen, even among those who disapproved of it, doubted that it would be effectual. It is quite true that many of its provisions will only succeed partially. It will, for example, always be difficult to elicit facts from unwilling witnesses. As the lower class of Irish never answer any question, even of the most innocent kind, except evasively, by asking another question and by pretending to misunderstand what is said to them, they are in excellent training when they have to baffle the inquiry of a questioner whom they wish to mislead. It was also stated during the debate that they are getting beyond mere evasion now, and have become alive to the boundless resources of direct perjury. Even, therefore, if witnesses are examined before any one is charged with a crime, and merely in order to ascertain who ought to be charged, the inquiry may often produce no good result. But it is going a great deal too far to say it will produce none. The witnesses will find it difficult to answer questions the nature of which they cannot anticipate without giving some clue to the police, or showing that they are privy to the crime, which in itself is some sort of clue. So, again, the power given to the LORD-LIEUTENANT to seize on the plant of newspapers will not put an end to all seditious newspapers; but it will put an end to at least nine-tenths of them. It was suggested that they might be printed in England and imported into Ireland. So they might to some extent, but it is one thing for a paper to need to be smuggled in and then distributed in secrecy, and another thing to enjoy a free local circulation. The seditious and felonious press will be practically obliged to be very careful, and all it will be able to do will be to write in that ambiguous manner which will be understood by readers in a special sense, and will keep alive a feeling of irritation. This is unavoidable. An Irish national paper, even after the Act is passed, will be able to say and suggest much to foment the bad feeling which has already been created by its unchecked publications. But then cautious half-and-half sentiments will seem dull and tame to the ordinary readers of unblushing treason and sedition. The experience of the Second Empire, whose example we are now unhappily and much against our will obliged to follow, shows that, although writings the meaning of which is obvious to the clever people of a metropolis can scarcely be long repressed, the Government can prevent rural districts from being flooded

with the coarse, broad, unmistakable writings which in these districts are the only effective literary weapons of a dangerous Opposition.

The provisions by which the seditious and felonious press is to be placed at the mercy of the Irish Executive naturally excite very keen criticism. Mr. GLADSTONE explained that, in the opinion of the Government, it was no use to ask for slight powers of coercing the press. It was better either to do nothing or to be sure to succeed. There is much truth in this. If England is to exhibit itself to the world as abandoning the freedom of the press in a moment of danger, it is at least wise to get our cake for our halfpenny, and to succeed in putting down the press that has moved us to depart so widely from the accustomed paths of the Constitution. We do not see that there is any check on the action of the LORD-LIEUTENANT, except that he will never seize the plant of a paper the language of which has not been clearly seditious. Public opinion in England would keep him from this, and the traditions of all public men would make them very anxious not to take action against the press lightly. But if the Executive does seize the plant of a newspaper, the right of action will not much benefit the proprietor. The Government will plead that the newspaper published seditious matter, and will set out the matter alleged to be seditious. The proprietor will acknowledge that he published this matter, but will urge on the jury that it is not seditious. There will not be much to be said on either side, for the document will speak for itself, and will have to be interpreted by the jury under the direction of the judge. But here comes in that immense difference of the civil as distinguished from the criminal trial on which Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE dwelt last week. If the publisher were being indicted for a seditious libel, twelve men would have to be persuaded that the language used was unmistakably seditious, that it was so little open to question what it meant and what it must lead to and what must have been the purpose of the person publishing it, that he ought to be sent to prison for his crime. But in the civil action, twelve men would have to be persuaded that the printed matter was so manifestly not seditious, so mild, so innocent, that the Executive ought to be made to pay damages for seizing on the plant of the paper in which it was published. It is almost certain that the LORD-LIEUTENANT will never act unless he is warranted in doing so by the matter incriminated being much too nearly seditious for no twelve men to agree in saying that it is clearly not seditious. If the article was rather seditious, but not very strongly so, then probably the jury, either on a civil or criminal trial, would disagree; and whereas if the jury disagreed on a criminal trial, the accused would not be convicted, in a civil trial the proprietor would not get a verdict, and would have to pay his costs. It would be serious for a proprietor to fight the Government with such odds against him, and as he will only have a fortnight to decide whether he should bring his action or not, he would find it very difficult in that time to persuade himself or others that he had a case so strong that it would be wise for him to run the risk; for if he fails in his action altogether, or discontinues it, he will have to pay the costs of the Government as well as his own. The law is therefore a very stringent law; and, as Mr. GLADSTONE says, if we are to give up the liberty of the press, let us have a stringent law, and at least do all the good we can to Ireland. To limit the power of the Executive to cases where writings are treasonable, or distinctly advocate agrarian crime, would be to do away with all the advantages of the measure. It is in the wide meshes of sedition that the Irish national papers will be caught, and nothing would be more foolish than to pass a Bill for the purpose of putting them down which yet did not touch them. The real safeguard against ill-considered action



and petty tyranny is that no one except the LORD-LIEUTENANT can set the machinery of this part of the Bill in motion. We are a very long way off, even in Ireland, from the Continental system of letting the police decide, under the direction of a secret assistant of an irresponsible Minister, what newspapers shall be suppressed. In Ireland a very high official will have to act personally and in a very public way; and it may be allowed that this is the best check on rash despotic action that could be devised, and that any other would only tend to make the Bill inoperative.

But we must not conceal from ourselves what we are really doing. We are putting an end to the liberty of the press in Ireland because we find that the institution of trial by jury breaks down there. The Government does not like to prosecute because it cannot rely on getting a verdict. The whole gist of the Bill is to put down crime by reducing the penalties until the trial is brought within the scope of authorities who are allowed to dispense with a jury. The press is to be coerced by proprietors being placed in such a position that the disagreement of juries will tell against instead of for them. It is impossible that the passing of this Bill should not form an epoch in English political history. We can scarcely again treat trial by jury and the liberty of the press as things which ought to prevail everywhere, and to forego which stamped a Government as wicked and a nation as degraded. We must henceforth allow that the preservation of peace comes before both. Theoretically, every one would of course say that it must come before them. No critic of the Emperor NAPOLEON ever suggested that, if his rigorous measures against the press could be shown to be necessary to avert a civil war, they ought not to have been employed. But the evil of employing them is, that it comes to seem natural, and a light and trivial thing, to employ them. Sir ROUNDELL PALMER contested the assertion of an Irish member that no such measure would be tolerated in England or Scotland, by saying that if such a press existed in England or Scotland as that which exists now in Ireland, every one in Great Britain would be glad to give the Executive power to suppress it. At any rate, whether this is true or not now, it will be true hereafter. Now that it has once been owned that, in a dangerous state of political society, trial by jury and freedom of the press must be abandoned, the precedent is sure to bear fruit. The minds of Englishmen will have become familiarized with the thought that, if serious danger is to be apprehended, juries are a mistake; and that, as Sir ROUNDELL PALMER said, it is very unfair to punish criminals and not to stop those who incite them to crime. It is true that the Peace Preservation Act is only to be temporary, but so are all strong measures only meant to be temporary. The Personal government of the Emperor was only meant to be temporary; the military government of the Southern States of the American Union was only meant to be temporary; but it is an era in the history of a nation when these temporary measures are resorted to, and the nation is never the same after them. It may seem a small thing to recognise that the things we have long thought best and grandest in the English Constitution are only of use to people who are fit for them, but it is a source of very serious reflection when we consider that we are inextricably mixed up with the government of a nation which cannot be trusted to make contracts for itself, which will not aid in repressing crime, which cowers before its own bullies, which is unfit for trial by jury, and must have the liberty of its press put nominally down. Still we cannot alter facts by regretting them. The Irish have to be treated as an exceptional people, and we certainly are so treating them. In the present crisis it is desirable that the Bill, without serious alteration, should speedily become law. Mr. GLADSTONE has satisfied the country that it was only after fully weighing the consequences of what he was doing, only in the last resort, and with deep reluctance, that he applied to Parliament for the wide and extreme powers he now seeks. Somebody must judge, and the head of the Government is the right person to judge, unless we can get a better Ministry to form a judgment or can show how what the Ministry suggests can be done in a better way. Now no one of any weight or prudence or authority suggests that the evil is not great enough to need the severe remedy which Mr. GLADSTONE proposes. With great sorrow, therefore, and with much apprehension of the indirect effects which a Bill so alien to English traditions will produce, not only in Ireland or even in England, but in all the nations that look up to England and are guided by her, we must accept what is urged on us as an indispensable measure in a time of great peril. Before the supreme importance of the precedent we are adopting, and of

the course on which we are embarking, such questions as to whether the Bill was brought in exactly at the right time, or whether the Government has been uniformly wise in its Irish policy—topics which occupied so large a portion of the debate this week—fade away into insignificance. Parliament will at least sanction the policy of the Government so far as now to adopt its suggestions, and England will be pledged to another step of exceptional statesmanship with regard to a country which is one huge exception to everything we could expect or wish.

#### SPAIN.

IT appears that, after long hesitation, Marshal PRIM has determined to precipitate the inevitable rupture with the Unionists or the Moderate party. On former occasions he has professed the warmest attachment to his colleagues, whether they were actual, outgoing, or incoming. Their conduct in staying, in resigning, or in accepting office was dictated by the most exalted motives; and the PRIME MINISTER had only to congratulate himself when their scruples were overcome, or to lament over patriotism which assumed the form of overstrained delicacy. Of the relations between PRIM and SERRANO little was known, although it might be inferred that the REGENT was on friendly terms with the Minister who nominally held office by his choice. On one occasion it was supposed that Marshal SERRANO had taken great offence at the selection by the Cabinet of the Duke of GENOA as official candidate for the Crown; but the difficulty had been apparently settled, and Admiral TOPETE himself retained his post as Minister of Marine. The Progressist or ultra-Liberal section of the Cabinet has lately been strengthened by the appointment of one of its principal leaders as Minister of the Interior; but Señor RIVERO, in the elaborate speech in which he explained his acceptance of office, insisted on the justice and expediency of allowing the Unionists a share in the control of the Revolution in which they had taken a prominent part. If the supporters of Monarchy divide themselves into two hostile parties, the Republicans will enjoy a great advantage in allying themselves with the Progressists against the Unionists; but it is not at present known how the majority of the Cortes will distribute itself, and the inclinations of the army are still more uncertain. It is said that the generals and superior officers lean to SERRANO in preference to PRIM; and probably the subalterns and the rank and file would follow their immediate chiefs. It is the misfortune of Spain that its political leaders are almost necessarily soldiers. If SERRANO were to dismiss PRIM, it would be necessary to choose a successor who could be trusted with the command of the army as well as with the management of the Cortes. There are no means of forcing SERRANO to resign, although he might be dismissed by a Parliamentary vote; and if he voluntarily relinquishes his high office, it will be difficult to supply his place. No other politician or general was equally qualified for a post which recalls the memory of the GRAND ELECTOR in SEYÉS's favourite Constitution. It was understood that in the fulness of years and honours SERRANO desired nothing more for himself; and it was generally believed that his active participation in the dethronement of the QUEEN had been the result of upright and honourable motives. The assignment to one military leader of the highest honorary rank, and of substantial power to another, bore the resemblance of a reasonable compromise. If PRIM henceforth stands alone, or confers the Regency on some follower of his own, it will be said that his usurpation is not prospective, only because it is already complete.

The ostentatious quarrel of the Ministers with the Moderate party was evidently premeditated. After a vote in which the Unionists had refused to follow the Government, Marshal PRIM invited the Liberals to support him, since he had been deserted by the Unionists. Admiral TOPETE immediately announced his resignation by leaving his seat on the Ministerial bench. On the other hand, the Republican members crowded round the Minister with expressions of sympathy which appear to have been cordially reciprocated. It may be taken for granted that, unless the quarrel is patched up, PRIM will be compelled, either immediately or after an interval, to throw himself into the arms of his new Republican allies. His own scheme of reigning in the name of a titular king was rendered impracticable by the refusal of the Duke of GENOA to accept the Crown; and he has always steadily opposed the pretensions of the Duke of MONTPEISIER. It may perhaps have become gradually clear to his mind that a kingdom without a king was more impossible than the Republic which he condemned a year and a-half ago on the ground that there were no Republicans in Spain.



After holding the chief executive authority in a provisional interregnum, he may perhaps think it feasible to govern as chief of a Republic. It seems possible that his decision may have been accelerated by the popularity which the Duke of MONTPEISIER has acquired by his bearing in the unfortunate duel with Prince HENRY. There was no other candidate who could have provoked any feeling of jealousy. It will be a cause for regret if the experiment of Parliamentary Government in Spain is interrupted by the dissensions of civil and military leaders. The Provisional Government, holding office at the pleasure of the Cortes, in some respects resembles an English Ministry; and the Regency was a harmless and useful contrivance to conceal the direct dependence of the Ministry on the Cortes. The collision of parties could have been adjoined; the country might have become accustomed to government by a Ministry which was at least nominally responsible; and a Republic would have been virtually established without the acknowledgment of a name which, in Spain and in many other countries, is associated with the wildest revolutionary projects. The preference of the majority of the Cortes for the form of Royalty is merely a protest against anarchy and spoliation. The chief danger of a Republic would consist in the encouragement of the permanent conspiracy against property and order. It is also a grave objection to a Republic of the ordinary type that a President directly elected by the people is a formidable rival to a Parliament. If PRIM, who has already a hold on the army, were chosen President by a popular vote, he would exercise the power of a Dictator. It is not unreasonably held that he is more innocent as a Minister, especially when he has a Regent above him. In Spain, as in many other parts of the world, the moderate Liberals are the most steady opponents of arbitrary power. It is impossible to judge of their numbers or of their comparative force, as they have hitherto allied themselves with the Progressists against reaction on one hand and Republicanism on the other. Their strength probably lies among the middle classes, and they have great influence in the army. It is highly probable that, if they had foreseen the consequences of their own act, they would never have commenced the Revolution of 1868. In disturbed times the chances are on the side of extreme politicians.

The quarrels of parties may give the Republicans an opportunity of acquiring temporary supremacy, but, unless they could win over some part of the army to their cause, it is improbable that they could form a permanent Government. Their violent allies would resent the inevitable efforts which would be made to maintain order and to protect property, and the malcontents would have the advantage of quoting the rash sayings of their leaders, as Jesuit writers taunt the members of the Opposition in the Roman Council with the adulatory language which they used when it was supposed that their words would have no practical effect. The factions which have quarrelled over the distribution of power would remain in opposition to a Government equally odious to them all; the alliance of a military chief would give the Republicans solidity and consistency, but it would also impose upon them a master. The members of the minority who thronged round PRIM when he formally defied his Unionist associates are perhaps prepared to accept his assistance even on the condition of placing their Republic beneath his feet. GARBALDI, in the curious farrago which he has published in the form of a novel, expresses the utmost contempt for a ruling Assembly, and maintains that liberty consists in the right to choose an absolute ruler. A compact between PRIM and the Republicans would imply on his part an intention of perpetuating his power, while, on the other side, the right of overthrowing a dictatorial authority would be expressly or tacitly reserved. Notwithstanding the unsettled condition of affairs, which has lasted for a year and a half, it is still uncertain whether the people of Spain care for political opinions. The rabble of the towns is naturally republican and anarchical; and in some of the provinces occupiers are as eager as in Ireland to become owners, while the landless classes in their turn clamour for a general repartition of property. The shopkeepers, the more substantial farmers, and the thriving members of professions, are probably not unprepared to submit themselves to any Government which may happen to be triumphant. The Republicans have shown on more than one occasion that they are ready to fight for their doctrines; but they have neither arms nor discipline, and their numbers are but imperfectly known. No peaceable civilian will risk his life and fortune in support of PRIM, of SERRANO, or of MONTPEISIER. It is still possible that, as in former times, political issues will be ultimately decided by an appeal to the army.

#### THE EDUCATION BILL AND THE BIBLE.

THE speech with which Mr. GLADSTONE wound up the debate on Mr. DIXON's ill-timed amendment was a sufficient answer to the assertion that, if the unusual course of offering a professedly friendly opposition to the Second Reading of the Bill had not been adopted, those Liberal members who object to Mr. FORSTER's solution of the religious difficulty would have had no adequate opportunity of giving effect to their dislike. The controversy which has been excited by the power proposed to be entrusted to local authorities to determine what religion shall be taught in the schools set up by them might have been fought out with far more effect on the provision to which it properly relates. As it was, no speaker, except perhaps Mr. VERNON HARCOURT, seemed to have quite made up his mind whether he was discussing the manner in which the Bill deals with the religious question generally, or the manner in which it deals with it in connexion with a particular class of schools. It is obvious that so long as this uncertainty prevails the whole subject must be enveloped in confusion. The amendment assumed that these two things were identical, but the assumption is so inconsistent with fact that, with the exception before mentioned, all Mr. DIXON's supporters diverged more or less widely from their text and attacked other parts of the Bill. We suspect that in the case of several of them their dislike to the measure goes a good deal deeper than the words of the amendment would imply. They are opposed not merely to the clause which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities, but to the provisions which allow of schools supported even partially by public funds giving any religious, at all events any denominational, instruction at all. What Liberals of this class really want is a system of national education which shall absorb, and by degrees supersede, the denominational and voluntary system. If they will be content with nothing else than this, they had better make up their minds to oppose the Education Bill. The main object of the Government measure is to develop instead of absorbing, and to supplement instead of superseding, the denominational and voluntary system. Viewed in this light, the Bill, in spite of some faults, is a conspicuous success. It so remedies the defects and fills up the shortcomings of the existing machinery that, as Mr. GLADSTONE said, within a very short time the means of popular education will be brought up "to such a point as that they shall be able to grapple with the entire necessities of the country." Putting aside unavoidable instances of individual hardship, existing schools will be no losers by the change, provided only that they are willing to comply with the very reasonable conditions laid down in the Bill. The inducements in the way of economy and saving of trouble held out to the School Boards to assist voluntary schools rather than establish schools of their own are too powerful to leave much doubt that in the great majority of cases this will be the course taken; and the provision that schools of all denominations shall be assisted equally will ensure any sect that is strong enough to maintain a school against any unfairness in the distribution of aid. But it is precisely these recommendations that constitute the demerit of the Bill in the eyes of some Liberals. How many of them are prepared to reject it on this score it is difficult to say, and this point might very properly have been set at rest by an amendment on the Second Reading. A good deal has been said of the risk of causing a schism in the Liberal party, but we are inclined to think that it is a risk which has been both exaggerated and unduly deprecated. No doubt there is a little group of doctrinaire Liberals whose anxiety it is to make anti-denominationalism in education the test article of the Liberal creed. The one idea of Mr. FAWCETT and his friends seems to be that in the matter of education the State should occupy a position of impartial and contemptuous hostility to all religious creeds. But we do not believe that this wish is shared by any large body of Englishmen. There are many who, not caring for religious teaching themselves, are irritated at the obstacle it has so long presented to a settlement of the question, and are so far not indisposed to cut the knot by proscribing it. There are many who feel that the religious teaching they themselves care for has been put at a disadvantage by the educational system hitherto in operation, and who are willing to see all creeds placed under a common disability rather than one, as they think, exceptionally favoured. But neither of these attitudes is in the least inconsistent with a hearty acceptance of the Government proposals. The Bill prevents the religious difficulty from being any longer an obstacle to legislation, and thus it ought to satisfy the Indifferentists. It prevents, or, if it does not do so perfectly, it can in Committee be made



to prevent, any preference being given to one denomination over another, and thus it ought to satisfy the Dissenters. If both these great classes are disposed of, we question whether the extreme anti-Denominationalists will care to secede from the Liberal camp, or whether, if they do so, their numbers will be such as to make their defection really formidable.

The true policy, therefore, of those who wish to see the Bill carried without any sacrifice of its essential features, is to shield it by every possible safeguard against the reasonable objections of the two classes we have mentioned. Various methods of effecting this result will present themselves hereafter for examination. The only one we shall dwell upon now is the omission of the very clause against which, by, as it seems to us, a curious misconception of their real game, the anti-Denominationalists have directed their heaviest artillery. It is our conviction that by withholding from the School Boards the power of prescribing religious teaching in the schools set up by them a very great advantage will be secured to voluntary Denominational schools. The choice then submitted to every School Board will be this—will you assist existing schools, thereby effecting a great saving of money as well as insuring that the majority of the children in the district shall be taught some kind of religion; or will you, at a very large outlay, establish new schools of your own from which all religious instruction shall be necessarily excluded? With these alternatives before them and no other, we believe that by far the greater number of School Boards will prefer to take the former course. If, on the contrary, they have a third choice presented to them, they may in a good many instances try the experiment of setting up a school in which the religious teaching shall be limited to the Bible, with or without such comments as the master may think fit to add. A well-known correspondent of the *Times* has lately defended this solution not merely as the best attainable at present, but as the best attainable in its own nature. "ANGLICANUS" maintains that "there is a general religious belief in the English nation apart from the catechisms, articles, or confessions of 'faith of particular churches,' and this position, he adds, 'has just received a striking confirmation from an altogether independent, unintentional, and probably reluctant, witness,' in the person of Dr. NEWMAN. 'Bible religion,' says the latter in his new *Grammar of Assent*, 'is both the recognised title and the best description of English religion. It consists 'not in Creeds and Articles, but mainly in having the Bible 'read in church, in the family, and in private.' It is this really national religion, 'ANGLICANUS' infers, that 'the Government of England has to consider.' The fallacy of this inference lies, as it seems to us, in the implied assumption that this 'Bible religion' is something common to all denominations, something that they would all agree upon as a foundation on which to rest their distinctive teaching, a kind of religious accident which must be mastered by all Christians alike, whatever be the line their subsequent studies may take. The very circumstance that his quotation is taken from Dr. NEWMAN might have reminded 'ANGLICANUS' how far this is from being the case. 'That such a general 'religion does exist' may be true, but it is true only in the sense that this 'Bible religion' is the creed of a very large and very loosely defined denomination. If it were something beyond this, if it were a substratum underlying the religion of all Englishmen, Parliament might do more than leave it to the decision of the local authorities whether they would adopt it in their schools; it might make its adoption compulsory. This is Lord RUSSELL's proposal in his characteristically dogmatic letter to Mr. FORSTER. Parliament 'should direct,' he thinks, 'that a portion of the Bible 'should be read and a hymn sung every morning.' Even he, however, is obliged to admit that this 'really national religion' is not co-extensive with the nation, for he would excuse Roman Catholics and Jews from attendance. Lord RUSSELL apparently does not see that if it is a hardship to Dissenters that the teaching of distinctive Christianity should be paid for out of the rates, it is equally a hardship to Roman Catholics and Jews that the teaching of Common Christianity should be paid for out of the rates. The truth is that if High Churchmen or Roman Catholics or Presbyterians would be content to have their children taught the Bible for the first twelve years of their life, and to postpone all reference to catechisms and formularies until a later period, there would be no longer a religious difficulty. Until this readiness is proved to exist, we must retain our belief that a Common Christianity, not in the sense of something substituted for particular Christianity by a large number of persons, which we take to be Dr. NEWMAN's meaning, but in the sense of something held in common by all denominations, is a purely imaginary creation. If

"ANGLICANUS" can produce one Common Christian—one man, that is, who believes nothing inconsistent with the creed of any denomination—we will consent to reconsider our conclusion.

#### THE AMENDMENTS TO THE IRISH LAND BILL.

THE interest of the Land Bill has almost faded away before the overwhelming interest of the Peace Preservation Bill, as, obviously, if there are to be no landlords left it cannot much signify what relations landlords, if they had been permitted to exist, would have been permitted to occupy towards their tenants. But we may trust that the Peace Preservation Bill will rapidly become law, and then the Land Bill will again seem of primary importance. In anticipation of the discussion in Committee a host of amendments have been proposed, although the number of members from whom these amendments proceed is small. There are the improvements in the measure of the Government which are proposed by Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, and there are the amendments proposed by Mr. DISRAELI which embody the changes in the Bill desired by the Conservative party. Further, there are the amendments proposed by desultory unattached Whigs like Mr. HEADLAM, and by half a dozen Irish members who are naturally trying how much more can be got out of the Government by a little pressure. But the main point at this early stage is to attend to what the Government now propose in lieu of their original scheme, and what the Conservatives will faintly insist on in the Commons and strongly insist on in the Lords. The topics of controversy are doubtless important enough, but they are not very numerous. It is only on the Compensation clauses that serious discussion between the two main parties in the Commons is likely to take place. It is these clauses, and these only, which Mr. GLADSTONE—whether vainly or not—hopes to get through before Easter. They contain the gist of the Bill, and if private members do not prolong the contest unnecessarily, the time necessary for the determination of the few real issues involved ought to be comprised within the limits of three or four nights of debate.

As to land subject to customary rights, there is no serious difference between the Government and the Opposition. Mr. DISRAELI has nothing to propose at all as to holdings in Ulster, and as to customary holdings elsewhere he merely objects to the permission given to tenants to sub-let for the purpose of giving labourers dwellings on the estate, while he begins the battle for future freedom of contract by permitting a tenant after the passing of the Act to contract himself out of the benefits he might enjoy if he could claim compensation for dispossession from a customary holding. The Government will of course resist the latter change, for if customary tenants were allowed to contract themselves out of the Bill, so also might tenants-at-will; but the real contest must be fought out as to tenants-at-will who are the rule, and not as to customary tenants who are the exception. Whether tenants ought to be permitted to sub-let at all to agricultural labourers is a doubtful point, and Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE has announced that he is willing so far to restrict the power that only one cottage shall be erected for every twenty-five acres. The controversy between the Government and the Opposition as to the first two clauses might therefore be soon set at rest, but the ingenuity of private members has been as much aroused by these as by any clauses of the Bill. It has occurred, for example, to Mr. KAVANAGH, that if cottages are to be built for labourers, they ought to be proper cottages, and that it would be advisable for the Act to decide what a proper cottage is. He, therefore, proposes to enact that each cottage shall have "a sufficient glazed window that can be opened; a sufficient door, a space in front not less than twelve feet, and 'a space at rear sufficient for a pig-sty.' So minute is the care which, in the opinion of Irishmen, a patriarchal Government ought to take of all its adult infants. Mr. DISRAELI, in spite of his theoretical objection to the legalization of customs, has no change to propose with regard to Ulster tenant-right, and Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE thinks it advisable to eliminate the few vague words in which the nature of the Ulster tenant-right was referred to. The Government has made up its mind to adhere to its distinction between Ulster and the other provinces, and to avoid even the faintest semblance of an attempt to define what Ulster tenant-right is. A series of amendments proposed by private members challenge them on both points, some melting the Ulster tenant-right into the general body of customary rights; some defining the Ulster tenant-right, and taking care to do so very conspicuously in the interest of the tenant; and some



determining and facilitating the process by which Ulster tenant-right may be extinguished.

The main contest may be expected to take place on the third clause—that which provides for the compensation of tenants, other than customary tenants, who are disturbed by the act of the landlord. The Government, in accordance with the announcement of Mr. GLADSTONE, have altered the clause so as to give compensation clearly and distinctly for the loss sustained by the tenant quitting his holding quite apart from the compensation he may receive from improvements; and they have slightly altered the scale, so that now there are to be seven degrees of compensation instead of five, as in the original draft, but the limit of seven years' rent is still to be applicable to holdings under 10*l.*—that is, to the great bulk of Irish holdings. Mr. DISRAELI alters the figures of the scale slightly in favour of the landlords, making five years' rent the maximum; but the real and very radical change he proposes is, that the compensation should be given not for the loss sustained by the tenant in quitting his holding, but "in respect of unexhausted improvements made by him and his predecessor in title, and of interruption in the completion of husbandry suited to his holding." It will be remembered that in order to account for his assent to the second reading of the Bill Mr. DISRAELI adopted a theory invented by Dr. BALL, that the tenant was not to be compensated for being turned out, but for the loss of an imaginary lease. This sounded rather ingenious, but to meet it the Government has distinctly asserted that the compensation is to be given under this part of Clause 3 for the loss he sustains in being turned out. The amendment proposed by Mr. DISRAELI embodies the theory of Dr. BALL. But Mr. DISRAELI shrinks from carrying this theory out. He retains the sliding scale, giving the greatest compensation to the poorest man. There is some sense in this on the Government theory, for if a man is to be compensated for the loss he endures in being evicted, the poor man may be said to suffer a greater proportionate loss, for he is more helpless when turned adrift. But if the compensation is to be given for the loss of an imaginary lease, it ought to be greater, not according as the holding is smaller, but according as it is larger. A tenant with a farm above 100*l.* a year rental is much more likely to suffer from interruption in the completion of a course of husbandry than a tenant with a holding of 3*l.* or 4*l.* a year. This compensation for disturbance is the keystone of the Government Bill. It is the mode in which a new and artificial security of tenure is to be introduced into Ireland. Without it the Bill would, from the point of view of the Government, be no Bill at all. Either this must be carried or the Bill abandoned, for the Government, rightly or wrongly, has pledged itself to secure thus much for the excited Irish tenant; and it is quite right that the issue should have been raised as distinctly as possible by the very precise words Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE proposes. But the Opposition has abandoned the only strong ground on which it could fight. It might have altogether refused to favour the poor because they were poor. It might have taken its stand on the received doctrines of political economy, and on the ordinary theory of property. It might have urged that a tenant, whether he held three acres or three hundred, should be treated exactly in the same way. But this seemed going too far. It would have shown a real belief in political economy very alien to the Conservative mind; and so, to make it seem that the Conservatives were, after all, very good friends of the Irish, and not at all inclined to be too hard on them, the sliding scale in favour of the poor is to be retained, only it is to be retained in conjunction with a principle which is totally adverse to it.

The principal weight, however, of the Opposition will undoubtedly, whether logically or not, be thrown into the attack on this compensation for mere disturbance, and on the limitations imposed on future freedom of contract. It is difficult to anticipate what line the Government means to take on the latter point, which is one of the utmost importance. In Mr. GLADSTONE's elaborate and minute exposition of the Government scheme, it was announced that the tenant could not be allowed to contract himself out of the compensation clauses, but that the landlord might clear himself of all claims for compensation for disturbance by tendering a lease for thirty-one years, on terms to be approved by the Land Court. Mr. GLADSTONE explained that the Irish would thus be tenderly and gently led to accept a system of holding by contract instead of the complicated and theoretically bad system under which they now hold. These leases for thirty-one years on proper terms were to be the silver link between an iron and a golden age. They were to

be the means by which miserable Irish squatters might be brought up to the comfort and dignity of Scotch farmers. A clause embodying the proposal was inserted in the Bill, but now Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE calmly proposes to omit it entirely. He as yet has offered nothing whatever in its place. The thirty-one years' leases have gone to limbo. This is a most extraordinary change, but if the Government has really repented of its scheme for barring compensation for disturbance by leases of this sort, it will require much consideration to decide whether the tenant should not be able to contract himself out of the compensation clauses. The tenant in bargaining has always the advantage of that security which, in the form of a pecuniary penalty, is the basis of the Act. The landlord, we will suppose, asks him to enter into a contract that he will not claim compensation for disturbance. The tenant will know that if he declines to enter into the contract the landlord cannot disturb him without paying the penalty. If this penalty is sufficient to deter the landlord from disturbing him, the tenant is not likely to enter into a contract not to receive compensation for disturbance. He will be master of the situation. What should induce him to contract himself out of the Act? He has only to say that he will not, and then the landlord must allow him to go on undisturbed, or pay him the amount of seven years' rental. The landlord can no longer tender him a long lease, and force him to accept it. He must bargain on the footing of a man who will have to pay a large penalty in order to have his way if the tenant is obstinate. If the landlord offered the tenant a portion only of the statutory compensation for disturbance, and then proposed to take power to turn the tenant out at the end of a year or two years without further payment for disturbance, the tenant would probably refuse. But if the landlord offered, we will say, five years' rent down, and a ten years' lease, the tenant might think it a good bargain. Why should not the tenant be free to make such a bargain? It is said that the competition for land in Ireland is so great that tenants will agree to anything. But it must be assumed that the pecuniary penalty is high enough to make the existing tenant secure in the sense that, if he is evicted, he gets what is amply sufficient to pay him for going out, and he is not likely to forego this advantage. If a new tenant chooses to take a lease at a higher rent, and also to give the landlord a sum by way of bonus equal to that which the landlord will have to pay for disturbing the existing tenant, why should this not be done? The existing tenant, according to the whole theory of the Bill, would suffer no wrong, for he would get exactly what would pay him for being disturbed. It is too early at present to speculate on the reasons which the Government may have for adhering to their limitations on future contracts. They may have fresh amendments to propose, or fresh arguments to adduce, but at any rate it is safe to say that if future contracts were allowed without restriction, the tenant would be in a very favourable position for negotiation if he were sure of seven years' rental as a compensation should he hold out, and if the landlord is to have no power of tendering him a lease in lieu of compensation.

#### THE LONDON MERCHANTS AND THE CHINESE TREATY.

THE reply of the China merchants of London to Lord CLARENDON's statement of the intentions of the Government increases the doubts which had been previously entertained of the merits of Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK's Treaty. Lord CLARENDON probably knows more of foreign politics than any other Englishman since the death of Lord PALMERSTON; but it is impossible for a Minister to rival in special knowledge the residents in any foreign country, and China perhaps lies somewhat outside the region with which Lord CLARENDON is most familiar. His experimental attempt to treat China as a civilized State is laudable and probably judicious, although it is not likely to produce a successful result. If representations made to the Court of Peking are found to produce redress of grievances, it will be clear that the old-fashioned methods of local coercion involved an unnecessary abuse of superior power. The failure of diplomacy, if it occurs, will sooner or later tend to the renewal of those vigorous irregularities which have rendered European life tolerable in China. Until the provisions of Lord ELGIN's Treaty were made the rule of intercourse with the Chinese people and Government, it was impossible to justify the practices which may hereafter be necessarily revived. The incredulous mercantile community unanimously rejects the assumption that ordinary diplomacy is suited to the circumstances of China.



Compacts between parties who adopt two opposite and incompatible rules of morality are likely to create misunderstanding. Mr. BURLINGAME's mission, though it may perhaps have been justly appreciated by Lord CLARENDON, furnished an additional reason for feeling or affecting confidence in the Chinese Government. The recall of Admiral KEPPEL, and the reprimands addressed to some zealous consular agents, proved that Lord CLARENDON was thoroughly in earnest. The dispassionate impartiality of the Imperial Government, although it produces irritation in the mercantile community in China, is dignified and possibly wise. The English Government had, by concluding the Treaty of Tien-tsin, recognised the absolute sovereignty of the EMPEROR, and there may have been some convenience as well as propriety in the formal recognition of his exclusive responsibility. If Vice-Consuls and lieutenants commanding gun-boats find hereafter that their active services are once more required, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that their superiors have seriously tried to attain their objects by pacific means. Mr. BURLINGAME, who insisted that China should be admitted into the community of civilized nations, obtained a ready hearing in Downing Street, as well as at Washington and at the Continental Courts. In substance his instructions required him to facilitate retrogression and abuse, by professing the desire of his employers for every kind of improvement. In one of his last despatches the Chinese Ambassador cited Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK's Treaty as a proof of the liberal and sound enlightenment of the statesmen of Peking. The document in fact does credit to their ingenuity, and they may fairly boast that they imposed on Lord CLARENDON.

The vexed question of the increased customs duty has at last been made perfectly clear. By the former treaty merchants had the option of commuting internal duties for an increase of fifty per cent. on their payments at the port of entry; but they have not been in the habit of profiting by a facility which has now been converted into a compulsory rule. In practice it was found that the central Government was unable or unwilling to restrain provincial cupidity. The goods which had already paid the legal rate of taxation were subject to overcharges whenever they crossed an internal frontier. Lord CLARENDON, who throughout the discussion has found or deemed that he was bound to advocate the cause of the Chinese Government against his own countrymen, had used the singular and paradoxical argument that commercial treaties impose no check on internal taxation. The proposition was in itself highly questionable, and it now appears that it was peculiarly inapplicable as an apology for the exactions of provincial Governors in China. The merchants in their reply quote Lord ELGIN's statement that the duty of 7½ per cent. was to secure the importer against all taxes, tolls, and *octrois*. The use of the word *octroi* was the more unlucky for Lord CLARENDON's doctrine, because it included all municipal imposts. It would have had a strange evasion of an international compact if the French Legislature or Government had taxed English cottons and hardware by an excise, although the charge might have been equally applied to domestic produce; but something might have been urged in excuse for a charge which would not have involved additional protection. As European imports into China have no competitive character, domestic taxation beyond the stipulated amount was utterly inconsistent with the letter and spirit of Lord ELGIN's Treaty. It may be hoped that it is not yet too late to reopen negotiation on a point which has evidently been misunderstood by Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK. The merchants who are most thoroughly acquainted with the details of Chinese administration are fully convinced that the commutation of internal exactions will not secure exemption from the charges which the increased import duty is supposed to cover.

Lord CLARENDON's plausible defence of the additional export duty on silk is conclusively answered by the merchants. As the price of the article has fallen, the Chinese Government has received less than the estimated amount of five per cent. on the value of the silk. It was not obvious to outside observers that the Chinese Government was entitled to the relaxation of a contract which had been deliberately concluded; but the merchants are sufficiently confident in the justice of their cause to admit, for the purpose of the argument, the soundness of Lord CLARENDON's reasoning. They are perfectly willing to readjust the tariff in accordance with the calculations on which it was originally framed; but they insist on including all Chinese articles of export in the proposed revision. While silk has paid less than five per cent., a change in the price of tea has benefited the Imperial revenue by an increase of a hundred and fifty per

cent. in the amount of export duty. By paying twelve and a half per cent. on tea, the merchants are mulcted in more than double the amount of their gains upon silk; and as the Chinese Government clear several hundreds of thousands a year on the balance of both classes of transactions, the memorialists are perfectly justified in objecting to a one-sided re-arrangement. It was quite unnecessary to send a mission round the world for the purpose of convincing foreign nations that the Chinese are fully a match for their most civilized rivals in commercial and diplomatic astuteness. In the late negotiation they appear to have confused and puzzled Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, and they have misled Lord CLARENDON into an adoption of their delusive calculations. It is perfectly true that the new treaty is open at any time to revision, whereas Lord ELGIN's arrangements could not be disturbed until ten years had elapsed; but there is nothing to compel or to induce the Chinese Government to renounce at any future time the advantages which it has obtained. The fanciful convenience of substituting a voluntary compact for a treaty imposed at the close of a successful war is not highly estimated by practical traders. It is not improbable that to the Chinese mind the most valid of all obligations may be those which are imposed by superior and irresistible force. Lord ELGIN was too prudent and too just to exact unreasonable terms as the reward of victory. The Chinese Government will not be equally considerate when it has redeemed its losses in the field by success in the diplomatic struggle.

In most instances the English merchants resident in China represent the wishes and opinions of the foreign mercantile community. At Shanghai, if in no other part of the world, the American lion or eagle lies peaceably down by the side of the English lamb; and there is probably a general agreement that Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK has made an injudicious bargain. The London memorialists, who have the best information on the subject, assure Lord CLARENDON that the division of opinion to which he referred no longer exists. If the treaty is ratified as it stands, French and American merchants may perhaps discover without regret that their English competitors have been unfavourably handicapped in the commercial race. While they are entitled to share in all the privileges which may be conferred on the most favoured nation, they are not conversely liable to the disabilities and burdens which may be imposed on English trade. It would be a strange result of diplomatic activity if the duty on silk imported into England were higher than the tax paid by French shippers of the same commodity. Other foreign merchants may perhaps claim the use of steamboats on the lakes and rivers of the interior, while the English Minister has submitted to the perverse restriction on the use of any kind of navigation which is not ordinarily practised by natives. The Portuguese who are no longer troubled with the presence of Chinese officials at Macao will learn with surprise that a Consul is to be allowed to reside at Hong Kong, which Lord CLARENDON by a singular oversight describes as a Treaty port. If it is not too late to revoke the ratification of the treaty, it would be well to reopen the negotiation, or perhaps to postpone it.

#### THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH AND THE SENATE

THE letter of the Emperor of the FRENCH to M. OLLIVIER is a fresh example of the consolation HIS MAJESTY seems to derive from the persistent use of phrases which have ceased to have any real meaning. As far as words go, the letter might have been addressed to M. ROCHER or M. DE FORCADE LA ROQUETTE. The change which it is designed to sanction is treated as merely another step in the development of the Constitution of 1852. The primary object of that Constitution was "to provide the Government with the means of establishing authority and order." It had another object, "the establishment of public liberties on solid bases," but inasmuch as "the state of the country would not permit" the immediate accomplishment of this secondary purpose, it was necessary that for a time the Constitution "should remain perfectible." Now, however, the hopes of the EMPEROR have at length been realized. Successive changes, each carrying on a little further the beneficent work of its predecessor, "have gradually created a constitutional system in harmony with the bases laid down in the *plébiscite*," and all that is left for the EMPEROR to do is to "impress a definitive character upon the latest reforms," and "to place the Constitution above all controversy." For this purpose it is necessary to ask the co-operation of the Senate. This "grand body, which contains so many brilliant men," is



invested with peculiar prerogatives, and the effect of these prerogatives is to limit the freedom of the Corps Législatif on many points of great and immediate importance. Consequently the EMPEROR calls upon the Senators "to lend to the new system their most efficacious concurrence." They are to resign their functions as sole guardians of the Constitution, and restore that portion of the constitutional power which has hitherto been delegated to their hands. In return for this surrender the legislative power is in future to be shared between the two Chambers, and the Senate may, if it can, find compensation in real work for the sacrifice of an exclusive privilege.

The smallest concession that can be made to an absolute Sovereign who is divesting himself of his personal authority is to allow him to describe the process of unclothing in whatever terms he likes best. Rational Frenchmen will not therefore be anxious to pick holes in the language of this letter. Foreign observers may be allowed to smile at the curious unwillingness of NAPOLEON III. to call things by their right names; but his own subjects will naturally prefer to look at the solid gains of which the publication of this letter is the expression. The prerogatives of the Senate might have given the EMPEROR an opportunity, had he been on the look-out for one, of declining to go any further in the direction of liberty. As long as none of the fundamental provisions of the Constitution could be abrogated or modified except by a body nominated by the Sovereign, he might fairly tell himself that, in abandoning the forms of Personal government, he had retained its solid substance. No doubt it might be necessary to consent to many alterations in particular articles of the Constitution, but while any movement in this direction must originate and be brought to a conclusion in the Senate, he would at least have full time to consider such necessity as it arose, and to determine whether it was expedient to resist the change. To surrender this prospect may not be to abandon any real power, but it does amount to the abandonment of an apparent power, and throughout the last few months the latter sacrifice has seemed to cost NAPOLEON III. more than the former. In this instance also a very strong pressure was in all probability brought to bear on the EMPEROR by his old friends and supporters. A revolution in the Senate must bear with especial harshness on the Imperialists, who have been accustomed to look to that body both as a present protection and as a future haven of well-deserved promotion. The EMPEROR is not the first master who has found it easier to humble himself than to humble his servants. The section of French politicians which finds a representative in M. ROUHER apparently believes that a Personal Empire is still a possibility for France. It would be extremely interesting to know on what grounds so acute a politician as the PRESIDENT of the SENATE founds this conviction, and by what means he has contrived to blind himself to the significance of the facts which have made so profound an impression on NAPOLEON III. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the existence of the PRINCE IMPERIAL. M. ROUHER is fighting only for his own hand, while the EMPEROR has a son to scheme for; and the tactics which win the odd trick are not always those which make the longest score. With this able and once trusted counsellor still at the EMPEROR's ear—for the accession to office of a Parliamentary Cabinet has not closed the Tuileries against M. ROUHER—it is not wonderful that the hopes of the reactionary party should have fixed on the prerogatives of the Senate as the most likely point at which to induce the EMPEROR to make a stand. Viewed in this light the letter to M. OLLIVIER becomes of great value. It proves that under the most favourable conditions possible the efforts of the EMPEROR's friends have failed. His prudence or his fears have been more than they could overcome, and the OLLIVIER Cabinet adds another victory to its list of successes.

An unfair interpretation has been placed, we think, on the words with which the letter opens. "I think it opportune," says the EMPEROR, "under present circumstances, to adopt all the reforms demanded by the Constitutional Government of the Empire, in order to put an end to the immoderate desire for change which has taken possession of certain minds, and which unsettles public opinion by creating instability." Taken in conjunction with the words further on, which speak of impressing "a definitive character on the last reforms," it is argued that this is the last concession he will make, and that, if any more reforms prove to be necessary for the perfecting of the Constitution of 1852, the Constitution of 1852 must be content to remain imperfect. But this is to take the opening words in a sense which is contradicted by the words immediately following. "I think it opportune," the letter begins,

"to adopt all reforms required" by constitutional government. And then the next sentence goes on:—"The first place I accord to those reforms which refer to the constitution and the prerogatives of the Senate." There could hardly be a clearer implication that these particular reforms are not the last that are to be looked for. The EMPEROR finds it "opportune"—or, speaking more plainly, necessary—to "adopt all the reforms" required by the change from personal to constitutional government. So far is he from even hinting that the reforms in the Senate are all these reforms, that he says plainly that they are only a part of them. It is only the first place in the list that he assigns to them. The "definitive character" of which he afterwards speaks may be most naturally and simply taken as referring to the uncertainty which must attach to all reforms proposed by the Ministry or voted by the Corps Législatif, so long as above both there is a mysterious and undefined authority possessing the sole power of distinguishing between what is and what is not constitutional. There seems to be little reason—as far as the letter to M. OLLIVIER is concerned there is none at all—for doubting that the EMPEROR has made up his mind to go on as he has begun, and to yield each new concession that is demanded of him with just so much of delay as he thinks will remind France that it is a concession and not a matter of course. Nor is this at all incompatible with that radical disbelief in Constitutional government which has been, we believe quite correctly, attributed to him. If he really entertains any such distrust, he is playing the most consistent part possible in giving Constitutionalism enough rope, in the full expectation that it will use it for its own destruction. To the proper working out of this design it is essential that the EMPEROR should be able to claim hereafter the credit of having acted with perfect loyalty by his Ministers. I gave you, he will be required to say, entire liberty to carry out your own policy in your own fashion. I knew all along that you would fail, but I acted as though you were certain to succeed. Another generation of Frenchmen has foolishly insisted on trying for themselves a nostrum discarded by their fathers, and I allowed them to try it under the most advantageous conditions possible. That you have not succeeded is attributable to no fault of mine; it is due to the inherent impossibility of the task you have undertaken. It is fortunate that the EMPEROR should have taken a line which time and not a revolution is all that is needed to disprove.

#### ELECTIONS AND THE BALLOT.

THE Report on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections might have been drawn up with much economy of labour when the Select Committee commenced its inquiries; but perhaps the opinions of one or two of the members may have been modified by the evidence. Any ordinary reader of a newspaper knows more about Municipal and Parliamentary Elections than he will learn from the Report; but, if he is of a curious turn of mind, he may have hoped to receive some additional information on the connexion which has been established between local and political contests. The discovery that a candidate for the House of Commons may sometimes attain his object by paying for the election of a Town Councillor does credit to the ingenuity of the inventor, unless indeed, like other steps in the progress of science, the contrivance was the offspring rather of time than of genius. Perhaps the Committee may have been well advised in abstaining from any discussion of the details of bribery. The great majority of the members, and perhaps the whole number, had supported the measure by which the purchasable section of the constituency was three years ago enormously increased; and it would scarcely have been decorous to record the fact that at the last general election hundreds of the new voters were openly to be bought for half-a-crown a head, or even in return for a liberal distribution of beer. The demand for seats and the supply of votes have been simultaneously enlarged; and it would be surprising if the trade of bribery had not consequently flourished. The extension of the suffrage has in many places anticipated the creation of political interests, and it is difficult to persuade the owner of a commodity which is useless to himself that there is any crime in disposing of it to an eager customer. When political issues are raised which directly affect the social and economical condition of different classes, even the poorest voters will probably prefer the triumph of some favourite cause to the paltry profit of a bribe; but the small householder of Norwich or of Coventry cared nothing for the Irish Church, which formed the almost exclusive topic of addresses and harangues at the general elec-



tion. In other boroughs the vote which was given in December had been bought for the municipal election of November. The suggestion of the Committee that petitions against the return of Town Councillors should be heard by the Judge of the County Court is open to no objection except on the ground of the inexpediency of mixing up judicial functionaries with political squabbles. The experiment of transferring the trial of Parliamentary election petitions to the Judges of the Superior Courts is not generally thought to have succeeded; and a County Court Judge resident in the neighbourhood of the borough concerned would be more directly subject to obnoxious imputations, though probably not to undue influence. The Committee wisely left untouched the causes and conditions of the corruption which they hope to check. An inquiry instituted by the House of Lords some years since into the conduct of municipal elections led Lord GREY, and other members of the Committee, to the conclusion that the constituency was too promiscuous to discharge its duties with caution and integrity; but when disfranchisement is out of the question, it is idle to find fault with the materials of the political fabric. The Select Committee and Parliament itself must make the best of the Sparta with which it is their fortune to deal.

It has for some time been known that the adoption of the Ballot was inevitable; nor is it any longer worth while to discuss the question whether a vote is a public trust to be exercised under public supervision. If secrecy extinguishes or greatly diminishes bribery, a flagrant scandal will have been abated or reduced; and in some cases it is possible that better members may be returned, when they have no longer to purchase a majority; yet only the most enthusiastic opponents will believe that the character of a voter is greatly improved when he gives his vote for nothing because he can no longer sell it. The political principles which have hitherto been on sale at the price of five pounds or of five shillings will be worth much less when corruption is extinct. A venal rabble will henceforth only be affected by motives which were before too faint to prevail over simple cupidity. Envy and credulity will prevail in the absence of more sordid influences; and the demagogue will inherit the political functions of the traditional "Man in the Moon." That the establishment of the Ballot will be conducive to external peace and order seems to be proved by the experience of the colonies in which it prevails. If Australian elections fail to produce the most competent legislators, the incidental object of securing ability and integrity in representatives has not been greatly valued by modern constitutional projectors. There can be no doubt that the Ballot will increase the power of the democratic party by diminishing many other kinds of influence besides the mere power of money. It is popularly assumed that every man ought to give his vote without regard to any wishes or opinions except his own; and when all voters are highly intelligent and thoroughly conscientious, there will be much advantage in excluding fear and favour from elections. In the meantime the principal result of secret voting will be the acceleration of the progress of change. The Select Committee has boldly ventured to assert the notorious truth that county elections, although pure from bribery, are largely controlled by landowners. The Ballot will deprive proprietors of the greater part of their political power, without perhaps consequently increasing the security of property. Direct intimidation is in modern times rarely practised by landlords; but the possibility that tenants may be biassed by feelings of gratitude for future favours has shocked the austere virtue of the Committee. Simple-minded country gentlemen who will contend in the coming debate that tenants vote with their landlords through feelings of loyal attachment will be met with the unanswerable argument that the Ballot will not interfere with the free exercise of feudal devotion. The cynical reflection, that friendly services might sometimes be withheld if they were to be performed in secret, would be too unpopular an argument for the House of Commons. The reasons for and against the Ballot have but a faint resemblance to the motives of its supporters and its adversaries. It will make bribery more difficult; it will suppress intimidation; but it will not raise the average character of the House of Commons, and may possibly lower it. To those who sincerely hold that the wishes and opinions of the numerical majority furnish the standard of political right, the expediency of secret voting must be obvious and demonstrable.

The dislike of the Ballot which has not unnaturally been felt by the adherents of established institutions has lately been in some degree qualified by the belief that it would check the intimidation produced by riotous mobs. Even if Mr. OSGORNE had not been a consistent advocate of the Ballot, he would possibly have been converted by his experience at Nottingham

and at Waterford. In Ireland at least it seems absolutely necessary to make some attempt to limit or evade the murderous violence of lay and clerical agitators. It is impossible that Irish elections can be made worse, and in external decency at least they may perhaps be improved. It was generally expected that the Committee would recommend an obvious method of diminishing the prevalence of outrage, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, by proposing the suppression of nominations. Lord HARTINGTON, in his Draft Report, expressed the opinion that the arguments against public nominations preponderated over the objections; but he was outvoted by a small majority, consisting principally of the Conservative members of the Committee. In the Report, as it stands, it is alleged that the abolition of nominations would fetter the free choice of the electors, and that it would deprive a candidate of the opportunity of correcting mis-statements as to his opinions or his character. It has not been found that the electors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are deprived of freedom of choice; and it is perfectly well known that candidates who have suffered from calumny or misrepresentation are never allowed to explain themselves on the hustings. According to the Report, no practicable substitute for a nomination has been proposed; and it may therefore be useful to suggest the comparatively easy alternative of declaring the election or commencing the poll without any oral nomination. It seems not beyond the range of legislative originality to devise some legal form of proposal in writing, even if Parliament shrinks from a servile imitation of the practice of the Universities, and of the constituencies of the United States. When purely conventional grounds are assigned for any conclusion, it may generally be assumed that there are more practical reasons in the background; but it is difficult to conjecture why Mr. HARDY, Mr. HUNT, and their colleagues should wish to expose their own friends to the turbulence of the hustings. There can be little doubt that the error will be corrected either in the draft of the Government Bill, or in its progress through Parliament. The premature debate provoked by Mr. LEATHAM exhausted almost all that can now be said of the chief part of the measure. It only remains to ascertain whether the House of Lords will, in a matter exclusively relating to the constitution of the Lower House, prudently acquiesce in the decision of a majority which will number two to one. The next general election will be conducted on the system of secret voting.

#### THE CHANCELLOR'S LAW REFORMS.

WHEN our article of last week upon the High Court of Justice Bill was written, the debate in the House of Lords had not taken place, and it is due to the LORD CHANCELLOR and the other Law Lords who shared in the discussion to consider how far anything which passed on that occasion tends to remove or to confirm the objections to which the Bills, on the face of them, are open.

It is remarkable that, with the exception of Lord WESTBURY's very pertinent observations, almost all the discussion on the Second Reading turned upon the proposed system of appeal—a detail no doubt of grave importance, but still a detail which scarcely calls for much consideration while the whole scope and framework of the Bills are under dispute. If we thought it possible that Bills could pass which would delegate to a body outside of Parliament an unbounded latitude of discretion, under which they could either leave our judiciary system unaltered, or revolutionize it in any direction and to any extent which they might think fit, we should have much to say in support of the objections taken by several learned lords to the projected system of appeals. In substance the Bills propose first an appeal (applicable only to the full-named Common Law Courts) from a single Judge to a Division of the Court, then an appeal from the Division to the High Court, then an appeal from the High Court to the High Court of Appeal, and lastly, an appeal to the House of Lords or its Judicial Committee. By a rather obscure clause the High Court of Appeal is deprived of the power of re-hearing any interlocutory orders, or any orders founded on a verdict or on the finding of a Judge acting as a jury. If this means that there is to be no re-hearing on facts before the Court of Appeal, almost the whole existing Appellate Jurisdiction in Equity is destroyed by it. Not only in theory but in fact nineteen out of twenty appeals to the Chancellor or Lords Justices are re-hearings on facts and law together, generally upon the old evidence, sometimes with additional affidavits. Of these, appeals from injunction orders are often among the most important, and these are absolutely prohibited. If, for example, a man is charged with obtaining by undue influence



property of a client or a ward to any amount, the case would be heard before a single Vice-Chancellor, a decision would be pronounced involving perhaps hundreds of thousands of pounds, and based upon the view taken of the conduct of the parties and the doctrines of Equity applicable thereto. Under the new Bill this first decision of a single mind would be practically unappealable. Possibly, indeed, rules might be framed which would give a re-hearing before the High Court; but as at the most only one Vice-Chancellor could ever be spared for appellate work, and seldom even one, this would be an appeal on a purely equitable doctrine from an Equity Judge to a Court wholly or almost exclusively composed of Common Law Judges. This would not be satisfactory. Anomalies of a like character would occur by scores, and added to this is the enormous inconvenience of multiplying appeals in ordinary Common Law cases. It was clearly pointed out in the House of Lords that the number of appeals ought not to be thus increased, and we may add that the scheme of limiting appeals to points of law, and excluding re-hearings of evidence, would not only stereotype multitudes of erroneous decisions which are now reversed, but would be really impracticable except on the special system of pleading now established at law, by which issues of law and fact are severed, and which the Commission have said ought to be superseded by the method of open pleading, as it is called, which prevails in Equity. If this recommendation is followed, to prohibit re-hearings on mixed fact and law is to prohibit appeals altogether. We have touched upon this question only because it formed the staple of the House of Lords' debate, but the really pressing question is whether anything can possibly be said in support of the proposed delegation of legislative powers, and we will briefly examine what has been urged upon this all-important matter. And first it becomes us to weigh very seriously the words, few as they were, which fell from the LORD CHANCELLOR, and this not so much because the Bills are Government Bills, and under his immediate charge, as on account of the almost reverential confidence with which the whole legal profession trust in Lord HATHERLEY. If there were any man from whose hands a measure of Law Reform might be accepted blindfold, it would be from the hands of Lord HATHERLEY, and we have sought (and we think we have found) in his speech on the Second Reading, the explanation of the strange puzzle, how such a measure could have been fathered by such a man.

Before we refer to what the LORD CHANCELLOR said, it will be well to re-state our three cardinal objections to the Bills as they stand. They are these:—

1. It must be fatal to any scheme of complete or even partial fusion of Law and Equity to keep the Judges grouped in their present sectional (we might perhaps say sectarian) divisions. If all the Judges are to learn to administer the whole law of England, Common Law Judges and Equity Judges must habitually sit side by side. The new lesson will be hard enough then, but if existing divisions are perpetuated, as the Bill proposes, the lesson will never be learned.

2. It is wrong, and contrary to all sound precedents, to delegate to any body outside of Parliament the power of doing anything more than fill up the minor details of a scheme of procedure the broad features of which it is for the Legislature to trace. In the successful measures of Equity reform in 1852, and in the successive Common Law Procedure Acts, Parliament enacted the scheme of procedure, and left, as a rule, only minute arrangements to be determined by the Judges. The only instances of departure from this method in the case of the Equity Courts have furnished almost the only blots on that reform. The two points we refer to are the regulation of the powers of Chief Clerks and the framing of the practice as to evidence. On both of these subjects a larger discretion was left to the Equity Judges than on any other points, and it was notorious, even before the recent Commission reported, that these were the two palpably weak points of Chancery procedure.

3. The body to whom the enormous powers of the Bill are proposed to be delegated, is not the best body that could be selected for the purpose. We shall not repeat the plain truths which we were bound to give utterance to on this subject. It is enough to say that if Equity Judges have been less successful than Parliament itself in framing rules of Equity procedure, and if Common Law Judges have equally failed to bring their own system of pleading and practice into perfect form, it is not likely that a body composed almost entirely of Common Law Judges will be able to construct a uniform code of procedure, suitable not only for the limited subjects of their own jurisdiction, but for the whole breadth of the English Law.

These being the objections which we (in common, we believe, with the most energetic reformers in the legal world) have felt to the Government project, let us consider how far they are met by the LORD CHANCELLOR's arguments in support of his measures. On our first objection—patent as it is on the face of the Bill—we cannot find that the LORD CHANCELLOR said anything. He mentioned the fact that the old lines of demarcation were to be retained, subject to a power, if the regulations to be framed should so determine, of occasionally lending to one division a Judge belonging to another. He also hinted at the possibility of regulations being framed for sorting the business, so as to keep it pretty much in its present channels, and *pro tanto* to neutralize the benefit of the projected fusion. But there was not a word to justify the retention of divisions, the existence of which is certain to disappoint all the great expectations which had been founded on the action of the Government. Lord PENZANCE, it is true, did dilate upon the subject which the CHANCELLOR more wisely left untouched, and Lord PENZANCE's speech, if it truly interprets the purpose of the Bill, confirms our worst apprehensions. The substance of it is this. "It is 'idle in this generation to dream of a fusion of Law and Equity. All that can be done is nominally to make all the 'Judges members of one Court, but actually to keep them 'separated as now—nominally to give to each division 'universal jurisdiction, but actually to empower the Courts 'of Law to cast off every cause which savours of Equity, 'and to authorise Courts of Equity to transfer every cause 'which has a flavour of Law. In this way things will go on 'pretty much as they do now, except that the transfer of a 'matter in which Equity crops up will be effected by the order 'of a Court of Law, instead of the injunction of a Court of 'Equity. The bandying of suitors from Court to Court will 'continue as now, but the operation will be a little more 'conveniently performed.'"

We do not think that this paraphrase does less than justice to Lord PENZANCE's views, and if not, all we can say is, that the reform which we desire is a reality, while the reform which he contemplates is a sham.

We pass now to our second and third objections, which may best be considered together. All that was said upon these topics (with the exception of Lord WESTBURY's pointed argument against the proposed delegation of power to the Judges) is contained in a few sentences of the LORD CHANCELLOR's, the most material part of which we will quote verbatim. "What every Court ought to be able to do, 'and what Parliament is singularly incompetent to under- 'take, is to settle the course of procedure which experience 'shows from time to time to be the most convenient for the 'attainment of justice.' It may be all the worse for the facts, but the facts are terribly against this plausible theory. Let us take one example out of many. The procedure of the Court of Chancery prior to 1852 was a judge-made procedure. It was cumbrous and absurd to the last degree. For instance, if the evidence of a witness was wanted, say for a plaintiff, the plaintiff prepared a string of questions in writing which were to be put to the witness by a Commissioner who knew nothing about the case. Of course, either from the imperfection of the questions or the answers, the most material facts were generally not deposed to at all. But this was nothing to the cross-examination. The defendant had the privilege of preparing a list of questions for cross-examination which were also put by a Commissioner, but in order to prevent the proceeding being of any use, it was insisted that the questions for cross-examination should be drawn up not only without hearing what the witness had said in his examination in chief, but actually before the plaintiff's questions had been propounded. And this, among a multitude of other absurdities, was actually sanctioned by a series of Chancellors, many of them Judges of colossal powers, apparently without the slightest sense of the absurdity of the whole procedure. This kind of practice went on for centuries, until in 1852 Parliament stepped in and did successfully what the Judges had failed to do. It was the same with Common Law. The Judges developed their system of pleading into one of the prettiest and most complicated playthings that were ever devised for the recreation of subtle minds, and the result was that it was an exception when a cause was decided on the merits. Here again Parliament stepped in and mitigated (though it unfortunately did not quite abolish) the mischief which the judge-made procedure had worked. If we had space we might multiply like examples to any extent. And the circumstance is after all not so strange as it may seem. The judicial mind as a rule is not a creative or constructive mind, and this is enough in itself to account for the almost uniform failure of purely



judge-made codes of procedure. Again, the judicial view, though the most important, is only one of many views. A bird's-eye view is extremely comprehensive, but it excludes a vast mass of detail visible from below. As Mr. GLADSTONE would say, the Judges are up in a balloon and must trust to others for information as to what passes on the surface. What Equity Judge, for instance, has any adequate conception of what is called the cross-examination of a witness before an examiner? The Judges of any special tribunal have no doubt an experience of its working which no statesman would fail to use as one of his chief aids in framing a new code for that tribunal; but, on the other hand, no wise statesman would rely on judicial experience alone, and that you do if you delegate to a Court absolute control even over its own procedure. But when the task is to deal, not with the procedure of one Court, but of two, which are to be forced into the same mould, the unfitness of a purely judicial body becomes more palpable. Suppose France and England agreed to have what in modern slang would be called "an international legal procedure." Does any one suppose that a Committee composed of twenty English and five French Judges of first instance would turn out a satisfactory code? And yet Common Law and Equity are quite as far apart as French Law and English Law. A further reason why it is impossible that this project of delegation can succeed is that the code would be given to the world complete before it could derive any improvements from extrajudicial criticism. The principle we contend for is, in fact, admitted by every Government which issues a Commission. Who ever thinks of limiting such a Commission to Judges alone? And it is here that we find the special competence of Parliament which the LORD CHANCELLOR so singularly impugned. Parliament can and does use, not slavishly but intelligently, the experience of Judges and the wisdom of statesmen. Parliament can and does listen to outside criticism, and picks from it the wheat, rejecting the chaff. Parliament has in the House of Lords men eminently qualified to consider any project of procedure from the judicial point of view, and the House of Commons is not wanting in lawyers who can add the suggestions only likely to occur to those in a less exalted grade. Lastly, experience has shown that Parliament is not obstructive in such matters, but pays to the recommendations of well-selected Commissions a deference which more often errs in excess than in defect. These seem to us overwhelming reasons for not accepting the LORD CHANCELLOR's opinion that Parliament is less capable than the aggregate body of Judges of framing a new code of procedure for Law and Equity alike.

One word more, to redeem an implied promise in our first paragraph. How can Bills introduced by Lord HATHERLEY be so bad as these Bills seem to us? There is only one possible answer—too much haste. A fact mentioned in the CHANCELLOR's speech throws a remarkable light on the matter. A deputation of solicitors, representing the local societies of Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Sheffield, and Birmingham, had waited on the CHANCELLOR and urged that the projected reforms should be "speedily carried into effect." The incident evidently impressed the LORD CHANCELLOR strongly, as it well might do, and goes some way to explain why this stupendous undertaking of re-casting the English judicial system should have been knocked off by the Government draftsman, under special orders, in a week or two. But if ever there was a case for Lord ELTON's maxim, this is obviously one where we may say "Sat cito si sat bene." Surely the only thing to be done is to withdraw the Bills and recast them with deliberation, making them do their own work instead of delegating it; then to circulate them through the profession and give time for suggestions, to be utilized at the discretion and on the responsibility of the Government. This was the method by which the most successful of our law reforms were accomplished, and a few months or even a Session would be well spent in a process which would convert the crude project of the Government into a mature and lasting reform.

#### HISTORIC DOUBTS ON CERTAIN CURRENT EVENTS.

THE critical historian of a thousand years hence will have remarkable materials furnished by some events of our own times upon which he may exercise his reconstructive skill. He will find in the popular chronicles or annals of 1870 much that demands re-writing and the exercise of the regulating faculty. He will not unreasonably think that, like a great predecessor in the critical art named WHATELY, he can distinguish between a certain central kernel of truth and those fictitious additions and accretions which have gathered round

it, and which may be traced to contemporary ignorance or misrepresentation, or to the exaggeration with which time must have supplied extraneous details and picturesque but unhistorical circumstances. What are the alleged current facts upon which the improved critic of ten centuries hence will have to exercise his sagacity? He will find it gravely asserted that precisely at the same time two events occurred which are obviously not conformable either to reason or to the abstract laws of historic truth. It is handed down as authentic history that exactly at one and the same epoch a BOURBON prince killed in single combat another BOURBON prince; while a contemporary prince of the BONAPARTE family is also said to have been guilty of the homicide, in some way also connected with a duel or duels, of a newspaper writer or journalist presented to us under the very legendary name of VICTOR NOIR. Can any story be imagined more grotesque and improbable? Here—placing ourselves in the attitude of posterity—we shall say that we find attributed to the same date events which from their very nature betray on the face of them untrustworthiness. We know from other sources that at this particular time all the branches of the BOURBON family were in exile. Every one of them had succumbed to the same fate, and had been expelled from their thrones; the oldest French line representing the disrowned family of CHARLES X., the second French line of the House of ORLEANS, the Royal line of the extinct Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Spanish BOURBON line—all were fugitives from kingdoms which they had once occupied. Under these circumstances what can be considered more improbable, what more unreasonable and contrary to experience, than that these exiled BOURBONS should be concerned in killing each other? A community in misfortune, according to all moral laws, implies a community in feeling and interest. Descending into particulars, what do we find in this wild legendary history? An ORLEANS BOURBON is said to have shot a Spanish BOURBON, and the Spanish BOURBON is said to have been an ardent Republican of the familiar red type, and he also is represented as being at one and the same time a newspaper writer and an admiral. Clearly, to enounce such a story condemns it. Taking another character introduced into the narrative, we find a BONAPARTE prince described as partaking in Italian insurrections, who is said also to have served in South American faction fights, and to have offered his sword indifferently to King LEOPOLD, ESPARTEIRO, MEHEMET ALI, and the Emperor NICHOLAS, and who, we are told, was alike imprisoned by the POPE and banished by the English. This BONAPARTE prince, who is alleged to have done some stirring deeds, heroic or other, now in the States of the Church, now in New Granada, and who turns up with equal facility in Albania, Corsica, Corfu, New York, Algeria, and who is at once a Prince of the Imperial Blood, a newspaper writer, a poet, and a sportsman, must at once be dismissed as unhistorical. A cosmopolitan Liberal BONAPARTE is certainly possible, but not a BONAPARTE of this inconsistent and irreconcilable and morally impossible type. The fact that the third Emperor NAPOLEON, when himself an exile, was one of the Carbonari may have given rise to the notion of some non-existent cousin imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, which is said to have been the case with this unhistorical PIERRE NAPOLEON; but a BONAPARTE willing to take service with both the CZAR and the SULTAN is an absurdity too palpable to be believed. The alleged relations of PIERRE BONAPARTE with MEHEMET ALI might perhaps be derived from the fact that NAPOLEON BONAPARTE the elder offered to turn Mussulman.

It may therefore safely be concluded that a Spanish BOURBON and a Liberal is a contradiction in terms, and therefore could never have existed; and thus the alleged existence of this PIERRE BONAPARTE is equally disproved, partly by reason of the native improbability of the romantic associations which surround him, which are not more credible than those attributed to Baron MUNCHAUSEN, and partly by the well-established method of scientific criticism, which establishes that much of these adventures and romantic histories themselves may be traced to the great European myth which had gradually grown up from distorted and exaggerated traditions of the life and character of the great—who perhaps is the only authentic—BONAPARTE. It may be urged, further, that, while of the four personages said to have been engaged in these two sanguinary and fatal, but strangely contemporaneous, conflicts of 1870, a high criticism has satisfactorily disposed of two—namely, the Spanish Liberal BOURBON and the Imperial Liberal BONAPARTE—the same doubts attend the tale which has been handed down as to another person engaged in this alleged duel. If the alleged HENRI or ENRIQUE BOURBON never existed, it probably stands to reason that he could not have been



killed in a duel. The two versions of the old legendary story are therefore reduced to one; and just as, in discussing the miracles of the ancient but exploded Christian Scriptures, it had long been settled that the miracles of the five thousand and of the four thousand were only discordant though apparently similar narrations of the same fact, so it is plain that the two outrages and the double duel and the pair of personal and fatal conflicts which are said just at the same moment to have taken place in the neighbourhoods of Paris and of Madrid must have been distorted versions of some single event. Whatever that event was—which will presently be discussed—Paris and Madrid, and indeed France and Spain, are likely enough to have been confounded and interchanged in the hands of a partial and hasty chronicler in those rude days in which the science and true nature of history and historical investigation were so little understood. At that particular moment Spain was undergoing a revolution, and was in a transition state of politics; so was France. The OLLIVIER Ministry and the SERRANO Ministry possessed at least such superficial resemblances that the same event might with equal probability, or improbability, be attributed either to Madrid or Paris at this juncture. Nothing is more common with these ancient transcribers than inaccuracy in proper names which have some superficial resemblance. London, for instance, is often written for Paris, and Russia for Prussia. Either of any two European capitals and cities might be mistaken for the other. Hence one single event might be described as having been two events, respectively occurring in different localities and connected with two separate agencies, and thus in the old narrative we get four duellists or combatants instead of two; and of course its scene might have been fixed both in France and Spain, whereas there was but one conflict ending in homicide.

Who then, the critical historian of the future goes on to inquire, is the one victim, for it seems that we cannot deny that there is some evidence of truth in the old books that somebody was killed somewhere and by somebody? At present, as it has been proved that ENRIQUE DE BOURBON was not killed, we are thrown back on one VICTOR NOIR, who, from the records of a trial reported to have taken place at Tours, is (so it is said) proved to have been shot with a revolver, and as it is charged by the (as we have shown) unhistorical PIERRE BONAPARTE. Here we have at once plain proofs of a forged, or at any rate a legendary, tale. VICTOR NOIR cannot be a real name. As ROMULUS is a mere impersonation of strength, so VICTOR and NOIR are mere impersonations, or so to say, incarnations of some moral quality or physiognomical accident. VICTOR NOIR is an impossible name. No acute and sound critic can deny this; and this judgment is the more decided, as there seem to exist vague and confused accounts that the victim, if he ever existed, was named SALMON. Tradition and the gay spirit of popular poetry would have composed such a significant name as the Black Conqueror. It is merely an instance of the allegorical description of a moral phenomenon under the figure of actions and dispositions fancifully and metaphorically attributed to a certain ideal person; such allegories being afterwards mistaken for, and ultimately believed in, as history. VICTOR NOIR is not a person, but a system; and when it is said that VICTOR NOIR was shot down and killed by Prince PIERRE BONAPARTE, we can trace a faint but significant reference to a fact—namely, that certain coercive laws were enforced about this time by the Emperor NAPOLEON against the *Black*, and hitherto *Victorious*, journalism of Paris.

And that we have here only a myth in the name and person of VICTOR NOIR, is apparent from the extravagant and indeed impossible incidents and details which were said to have attended the conflict between the ideal PIERRE BONAPARTE and the equally ideal VICTOR NOIR. It was not so much one duel as several duels which the old legend specifies; not one journalist, but a whole cloud of journalists. ROCHEFORTS, GROUSSETTS, FONVIELLES are mixed up in a fight or conflict or challenge which was at once one and several, and in investigating which we can only subside into a confusion which the most searching criticism is unable thoroughly and satisfactorily to disentangle, though sufficient remains for us to pronounce with certainty on one solid fact—namely, that this alleged homicide of an impossible VICTOR NOIR merely means the success of the Imperial Government in putting down seditious, and therefore black, journalism. And that this is the real though solitary grain of truth which comes clear out of the critical sieve is confirmed by the fact that much about the same time an English Minister—familiar to us under a name, which possibly was only a symbol of his particularly joyous character, and which represents

the quality of gladness, and for which he and his Ministry as well as the British nation were distinguished (*cf.* "Merry England")—is said to have introduced measures for restraining the excesses of the Fenian—or, as some have it, the Bohemian—journals of the period. It remains only to add that these events in France—for we discard the Spanish duel as altogether deficient in verisimilitude—are said to have taken place under the auspices of one M. OLLIVIER, which is obviously only a generic and allusive term, afterwards mistaken for the proper name of an individual, and plainly connected with a period of political peace and tranquillity ordinarily symbolized in such ancient documents by the olive branch.

But it will be said—Does not this scientific treatment of the current history of 1870 prove, or rather disprove, too much? PIERRE BONAPARTE and ENRIQUE DE BOURBON never having had any existence, and VICTOR NOIR being demonstrated to have been only an impersonation of the licentious newspaper press, what becomes of the duel itself? for it has now been demonstrated scientifically that of the four combatants of the two legendary conflicts only one—namely, the ORLEANS BOURBON prince MONTPENSIER, or Don ANTONIO DE BOURBON—survives this exhaustive critical process. We certainly admit his existence, and we admit a duel—not two fatal homicidal meetings. Who were the parties to this one duel? One, as we have said, was this MONTPENSIER; the other was, for reasons already fully specified, neither the fictitious PIERRE, nor the fictitious ENRIQUE, nor the absurdly fictitious VICTOR NOIR. The other we are left to an *à priori* investigation to identify. Who, it may be confidently asked, would be likely to have most reason to engage in single combat with an ORLEANS prince, and pretend in some sort to some throne? We see every reason for pronouncing that the adversary to MONTPENSIER in the celebrated duel in 1870 was the Emperor NAPOLEON himself; and that the throne to which MONTPENSIER was a pretender was that of France, not of Spain; and that the assertion that it was the Spanish Crown which was fought for is only another instance of the confusion which prevails in all these old chronicles between the political concerns of two neighbouring kingdoms, the annals of which might be so easily interchanged. The enmity between the house of BONAPARTE and the ORLEANS branch of the BOURBONS, the confiscation of the ORLEANS property by the Emperor NAPOLEON, the attacks made on the EMPEROR's literary works by an ORLEANS prince, all point to a deep personal hostility between the EMPEROR and the ORLEANIST princes. A single combat between the EMPEROR and the ORLEANIST duke combines all the elements of historical truth-likeness—therefore of truth. If, as we believe, the ORLEANIST prince MONTPENSIER fought a duel, it must have been with the EMPEROR himself, and European history is full of such personal conflicts for a crown. In the case of England, if HAROLD and WILLIAM did not fight, one of them proposed to fight. In the metrical annals of one of the most trustworthy historians, the famous SHAKESPEARE, RICHARD III. and HENRY of Richmond fought in person for the crown. So in Scotland did MACBETH and MACDUFF. Analogy, therefore, compels us to believe that the EMPEROR was himself personally engaged in this celebrated monomachia. An evident but curious confirmation of this authentic and happily restored account of an obscure transaction in history is supplied by some old documents to which we have had fortunate access. A solemn judicial trial connected with these events is said to have taken place at Tours; but Tours is an obscure place, and not likely to have been the scene of a trial—or, as we believe, a single combat—between the EMPEROR and the ORLEANS prince. But in Tours we observe a connexion with Orleans, and a very probable confusion between the two cities. From a very obscure and difficult document happily preserved in a fragmentary form, called *Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide*, it seems that there was in those times a communication between Tours and Orleans—since we read of the Orleans and Tours Railway. Further, we read that both places were famous for the fruit called plums, the dried Tours plums and the Orleans plum of the gardens being well known. What, therefore, more probable than that, from the common nature of their plums and railway, the two cities should in the old narrative have been confounded? We conclude, then, that when we read of the trial at Tours, what is really meant is the duel, not at Orleans, but with an ORLEANS prince—to wit, the single combat between the EMPEROR and the Orleanist MONTPENSIER, which may now be considered as the one solid fact emerging from this thick mist of ancient, but unaccredited, tradition, myth, and allegory.



## PRIVATE INFALLIBILITY.

THE question must have occurred to many outside observers, during recent discussions, how a man feels who sincerely believes himself to be infallible. The sensation of speaking with absolute and unimpeachable authority upon the deepest mysteries to which human language can be applied must certainly be a very strange one. The experience will fall to the lot of so few men, whatever may be the decision of the Ecumenical Council, and they are so little likely to be communicative of their experience, that the point will hardly be cleared up by direct testimony. Our natural impression at first sight is that, considering the difficulty of believing in the infallible authority of anybody else, it must be next to impossible to believe in one's own. Yet in saying so we are perhaps arguing very hastily. After all, does not everybody believe more or less that he is personally infallible? He does not, indeed, extend the sphere of his authority over questions so difficult and complex as those which await the decision of the Pope; but there are at least certain small departments of thought within which he thinks that he is not only right, but incapable of going wrong. It is a favourite taunt of Roman Catholics against Protestants that the right of private judgment makes every man his own Pope. Against any reasonable form of the doctrine this involves an obvious fallacy. We do not say that every man is infallible in matters of politics or of medicine when we admit that each man has a right to his own judgment; and we may believe that certainty is obtainable in such topics by the combined efforts of a number of fallible individuals. But it is true that certain theories amount to something like the claim in question; and we may add that in one sense they are the most logical form of belief possible. Once grant the premises, that is, and the conclusions follow with the most absolute certainty. It would indeed be easy to demonstrate that everybody cannot be always right, inasmuch as people have a confirmed habit of contradicting each other. But if any grown person chooses to declare that he personally is invariably right, and has always a direct knowledge of the truth, there is simply no method of arguing against him. When dour Davie Deans declared that he was not a MacMillanite, or a Russellite, or a Hamiltonian, or a Harleyite, or a Howdsonite; that he would be led by the nose by none, and take his name as a Christian from no vessel of clay; his antagonist could simply reply that he must be a Deanite, and refuse to continue the controversy. Of course one may be astonished at the curious mental illusion which causes Mr. Deans and his like to fancy themselves individually the central point of the world, and to measure the errors of all other inhabitants of the globe by the extent of their deflection from their own private code of opinions; but when a man has, in fact, the audacity to place himself in such a position, he is entirely safe from the whole armoury of logical reasoning. There is a certain dignity and a considerable degree of comfort in adopting the attitude. When an opponent has been arguing with you as long as he pleases, he must ultimately come, under the most favourable circumstances, to this dilemma; either you are wrong, or the whole of the rest of mankind is wrong. If, when he has driven you, as he supposes, to this obvious absurdity, you calmly accept the absurdity, and reply that the whole of the rest of mankind is undoubtedly wrong, there is simply no more to be said. You have retreated into a fortress from which, like some fabulous creature, you may smile grimly at your baffled pursuers. You are in the position of the captain of a ship who authoritatively "makes it twelve." The sun and the astronomers may be of a different opinion; but on board the ship it is twelve for all practical purposes, and neither the stars nor the astronomers can bring their authority to bear. Of course the consequences may be ultimately inconvenient in either case, because facts will not adapt themselves to our convenience; but within the limited boundary of the ship or the human brain there can be only one authority, and its decisions are for the time being without appeal.

It will generally be found as well to limit this infallibility to a narrow range of subjects. Some people, for example, consider themselves to have the Papal attribute in regard to matters of art, and declare with perfect confidence that everybody who differs from their taste in architecture or painting or poetry is not only wrong in an intellectual point of view, but shows unmistakable symptoms of moral degradation. Other people are content with a much humbler sphere of authority. We have met travellers who rejoiced in what is popularly called a bump of locality, and considered themselves absolutely incapable of ever missing their way. In such a case as this, it might be thought that the test of facts was unpleasantly near. It is as if the Pope should pronounce, not merely that the sun goes round the earth—a matter which cannot be brought to the test of actual experiment—but that a certain eclipse would not take place at a given time. If, however, the eclipse insisted upon keeping its appointment, devout believers in the Pope would not be troubled; and the gentleman who finds that a point which he supposed to bear due north persists in getting nearly to the south of him has never much difficulty in getting out of the apparent contradiction. The modes in which we may reconcile any given assertion to any other are practically infinite, and require very little practice for their satisfactory application. Thus, for example, we may take refuge in the distinction, so extremely useful in the parallel case, as to a decision being made, or not being made, *ex cathedra*. When we made that unlucky assertion that black was white—which, it

must be confessed, does not tally with the facts quite so accurately as might be desired—we were not quite awake; or we were thinking about something else; or we were speaking without that full consideration of the facts which, it must be admitted, is necessary even to our own undeviating accuracy. Then we may point out that, in a large number of cases, our opinions differ only in so far as the later is a legitimate development of the earlier. In our youth perhaps we were Radicals, and in our old age we have become staunch Conservatives. But the great principles which we have asserted only receive their due complement when we advocate the necessity of order as well as progress. Great changes have taken place around us; the grievances which excited our wrath have been removed; and that bloated aristocracy which we denounced with so much vigour has learnt wisdom, partly, if our modesty will permit us to say so, owing to our own exhortations, and now deserves the support and affection of all right-minded men. It is not we that have changed, but the world; and we can only deplore the rashness of those misguided youths who apply in an altered state of things the subversive energy which was so much in its place when we were young. It is pleasant, or perhaps melancholy, to observe how easily people who have grown reconciled to the world generally persuade themselves that it is because the world has grown so much better. If, on the other hand, they have grown to dislike reform as much as they once disliked obstruction, they fancy that the world has changed from excessive immobility to excessive rashness of movement.

Of course when a private Pope—if we may so call him—has the misfortune to be slightly incoherent in his opinions, he is necessarily reduced to rather awkward expedients. He does not actually take to forgery or those questionable assumptions of which the Popes have been recently accused by learned Roman Catholics. But he manages to invent certain illustrations of his own marvellous foresight and wisdom which are at least sufficient to satisfy himself. We have known a man to found a considerable reputation (in his own opinion) upon the fortunate remark which he made on hearing of the last illness of a distinguished man, at a time when it was not supposed to be dangerous, that he did not like the looks of it. Ever afterwards he considered that a solemn shake of his head was almost as bad as a sentence of death pronounced by one of the judges of the land; and though he made a merciful use of his power, he naturally succeeded in accumulating a sufficient number of favourable instances to strengthen his own conviction of his marvellous insight. A man who will venture upon a steady course of prediction must be unlucky indeed if he does not often enjoy the pleasure of saying "I told you so." By collecting all his successful hits, and judiciously sinking any inconvenient circumstances, he may possibly put together a body of testimonials which would entitle him to the votes of any intelligent body of electors. They become, as it were, unimpeachable patents of office entitling him to assume the character of an infallible authority in any company where it pleases him to be dogmatic. If we cannot always cheat the jealous sceptics who surround us, we can at least cheat ourselves into a confirmed belief that in all doubtful circumstances we have always hit the right nail on the head; and if our incomplete information may have betrayed us into some doubtful statements, we have at least formed a satisfactory judgment upon everything that came before us.

Everybody may of course pronounce himself to be infallible, and may derive considerable pleasure from the process. It must be admitted, however, that it is necessary to a man's full comfort that he should have a certain body, however small, of true believers. Even Davie Deans, with all his sublime confidence in himself, rejoiced in the fidelity not only of his daughters but of a certain "Johnny Dodds of Farthing's Acre." It is of great importance to secure a satisfactory Johnny Dodds, and it must be admitted that this cannot always be done. The Pope, as we know, has considerable trouble with his Council, and the rough approximations to a council which can be summoned by the little popes of private life are apt to show themselves rather unbearable. Something may be done by the help of a Mutual Admiration Society; and occasionally a man of great energy, such as Dr. Johnson, may succeed in securing his appointment as permanent dictator of his own clique. As a rule, however, it is necessary to make a compromise. An oligarchy is always jealous of a single head, and prefers portioning out the various powers of the State among its members. If a man is not very unreasonable he may succeed in gaining recognition as an infallible authority in one special department. He may set up as unanswerable in political economy or in historical or antiquarian matters, but it is on terms of granting equal privileges in another department to his neighbours. If he is willing to submit to a divided rule, and if he is judicious enough to be content for the most part with a female audience, he may be enabled to pass through life with few shocks to his self-esteem, except those which, as coming from the outside world, may be set down as mere products of heretical envy and malice.

To such a papacy as this every man may elect himself by a little patience and perseverance. We have admitted that the position has many charms, but we confess that, on the whole, the self-constituted pope is apt to be a rather disagreeable member of society. He is very common amongst all sects of reformers, and gives to them that disagreeable tendency to tread upon other people's toes which is apt to be one of their most marked characteristics. That sublime consciousness that all the world has hitherto been grossly in the wrong, and has wandered in the mazes of dark-



ness and error till the great Smith and the equally great Jones dawned upon an astonished world, is occasionally offensive. It is a proof of the readiness with which people assume that their own idiosyncrasies of mind and disposition are the natural state of things, and that every deviation from them is a strange phenomenon, which may be capable of explanation, but which, to say the least, is lamentable, and, moreover, is palpably wrong. But whether we are to take some simple A. or B. or a more imposing personage as the standard by which the world is to be judged, we always meet with the same difficulty, in a greater or less degree, of placing ourselves at some special point of view, and regarding the whole of the universe which cannot be easily brought under contemplation from it as a disagreeable and unaccountable phenomenon. If we could only look down upon the world from a sufficient distance, say from Jupiter or from Sirius, we should perhaps fancy that the infallible Smith was not so very much more absurd than the infallible Pope.

#### INDEXES AND INDEX-MAKERS.

THERE are some sayings which have a perennial freshness and entertainment, and of which the mind is never weary. These sayings are not always remarkable for their wit or for their wisdom. They are sometimes, on the contrary, the condensed essence of folly. Dogberry and Slender and Sir Andrew Aguecheek are not less delightful than Mercutio and Benedick and Falstaff, and as much entertainment is to be had out of Mr. Whalley, Sir George Jenkinson, or the Earl of Malmesbury as out of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Osborne, or Mr. Disraeli. The aphorism which "my dear Lord Priy Seal" has contributed to the collective wisdom of ages is worthy of immortality, and is likely to receive it. Lord Russell has the credit of describing a proverb as one man's wit and all the world's wisdom. As the reputed author of this clever definition, and as the subject of Sydney Smith's saying about the Channel Fleet and a certain surgical operation, he will be known with some distinctness to the popular mind of future generations to which otherwise he would be but the shadow of a name, like Newcastle, Addington, Portland and Liverpool, Taylor, Polk, and Pierce, and other dim Premiers and Presidents. Lord Russell, however, pales his ineffectual fire before Lord Malmesbury. That nobleman's statement that the knowledge of references is knowledge is not only characteristic of the man, but marks the age. The saying could have been uttered only in an era of cram and of competitive examinations. In emitting it Lord Malmesbury was the unconscious organ of what transcendental seers have called the Time-Spirit. Ancient credulity saw a divine inspiration in the sayings of idiots and maniacs. Lord Malmesbury is far from belonging to either class. An epigrammatic folly, a neatness and precision of dullness, and a fatuous smartness invest his most memorable deliverance, which are not excelled by anything in Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, and which stamp it as the effort of conscious reflection and of deliberate intellectual elaboration. The origin of his remarkable saying is a matter of historic interest. If we recollect rightly it came into existence either on some disputed point of orthography in detail, or on the more general question whether a knowledge of the art of spelling was an essential part of the education of a gentleman and the accomplishments of a diplomatist. Lord Malmesbury maintained the negative, contending that any one who could afford to buy a pocket dictionary might be said to know how to spell. If a man is conversant with reading, writing, and arithmetic, it is hypercriticism to censure him for describing them as the three R's. This inquiry is of biographic importance as pointing to the particular branches of learned research in which Lord Malmesbury at the period his aphoristic utterance was engaged, and the difficulties which impeded his scholarly investigations. His principle is of wide application. A Foreign Secretary becomes the author of a masterly State-paper by discovering which of his clerks can write the best despatch. A military historian like the late Lord Londonderry, or the editor of family papers like the late Duke of Buckingham, is converted into a man of letters by a similar discernment. They exhibit a mastery in the art of reference. Plagiarism is one of its branches. The man who called the verses his own which he had bought and paid for practically anticipated Lord Malmesbury's discovery. All these people knew where to look for what they wanted. We confess to some curiosity as to Lord Malmesbury's favourite reading. The world knows that he likes the *Daily Telegraph*. We suspect that he relishes Mr. Tupper. For the rest it is probable, if he carries out his own great principle, that his studies are confined to the English dictionary, and to the indexes of the "books which are no books, *biblia a-biblia*," which, in Charles Lamb's phrase, no gentleman's library should be without.

The principle of study and research which Lord Malmesbury has expressed in prose, Pope set forth in verse. In the *Dunciad*, to which by some capricious and inexplicable association of ideas we have been led, Old Dulness explains to her votaries

How index learning turns no student pale,  
Yet holds the eel of science by the tail.

The coincidence is close between the teaching of Old Dulness and that of Lord Malmesbury. The poet's satire is the poet's sober earnest; and the practice of more people than would nowadays like to admit as much. Books are now very often regarded as little else than the raw material of an index. In one of Mr.

Dickens's later stories, a professional anatomist retorts on an assailant with the remark, "Don't sauce me; you've no idea how small you'd come out if I had the articulating of you." A professional index-maker, we have reason to believe, regards a bulky author in something of the same critically contemptuous spirit. Many of our best writers, like the mistress of Mr. Dickens's anatomist, "not wishing to be regarded in that bony light," decline the attentions and services of the index-maker. They desire to be read and studied; and refuse to furnish indolent persons with the means of evading the task, while purloining the credit, of reading and study. But though they may defer, they cannot for ever escape their fate. They must come sooner or later to the index-maker, if they do not go first to the trunk-maker or the button-seller. This doom has already overtaken Mr. Tennyson. He has been articulated. When the late Mr. Robertson of Brighton published an analysis of *In Memoriam*, the practice of literary anatomy and poetic vivisection went great lengths. But worse remained behind. Recently one of those astonishing persons who, like Holofernes, go to a great feast of language only to steal the scraps and live on the alms-basket of words, has made a complete concordance of the poetical works of the Laureate, proving that his writings, like the book which Hamlet read and Polonius inquired about, consist exclusively of "words, words, words." This is the triumph of victorious analysis. But though indexes may be abused, they have their use. Fuller has very well expressed it. Without an index, "a large author," he says, "is but a labyrinth without a clue to direct the reader therein. I confess," he goes on to say, "there is a lazy kind of learning which is only indical; when scholars (like adders which only bite the horse's heels) nibble but at the tables which are *calces librorum*, neglecting the body of the book. But though the idle deserve not crutches (let not a staff be used by them, but on them), pity it is the weary should be denied the benefit thereof, and industrious scholars prohibited the accommodation of an index, most used by those who most pretend to condemn it." Mr. Carlyle's hearty approval of this sentiment may be counted on. His citations of the German historians who have supplied the materials for his *History of Friedrich II.* form one continuous wail over their fatal neglect to provide even as much indexes as a guide through the wide-spread, inorganic, trackless desert of their writings: "to the poor half-peck of cinders, hidden in wagon-loads of ashes, no sieve allowed." Mr. Carlyle himself, in his later works, and in the new editions of his earlier ones, is honourably clear from this reproach. He has provided his readers not only with indexes, but with analytical tables of contents. Any one who is anxious for information with respect to "Apes, dead sea," "Mac Crowdy, the gospel of," "Smellungus, the opinions of," &c., may with very little trouble find the volumes and the pages in which light is thrown on these topics of natural history and of literary research.

A book without an index may be an evil; but a book with a bad index is worse. It is better to have no guide than in the hands of a treacherous or incompetent one. In an age in which a knowledge of references is supplanting knowledge, and indexes are superseding the books to which they are appended, it is important that index-makers and the compilers of books of reference should be accurate. They are the great instructors of the age; and if they go astray, they lead multitudes out of the road. Scarcely an index is published which does not deceive the reader as to the actual contents of the book which is prefixed to it. By way of illustration, and as lying at the moment most convenient to our hands, we have turned to the index of a volume of great interest, which has been published this week, the *Letters of Sir George Cornewall Lewis*, edited by his brother. Let us take a few entries. We begin with "Mill, John, his article on Civilization, 49. His Dialogue on Theory and Practice, 49. His 'History of British India,' 72. His book on Logic, 120, 245." Then follows an entry, evidently referring, in the index-maker's opinion, to a different person; "Mill, John Stuart, his Letter to Sir A. Duff Gordon, referring to Mr. Austin's article on Centralization, 153." As index-makers are likely to be, in the course of time, the chief readers of books, they ought not to shirk their special business. Turning as directed to p. 49, we find Sir George Lewis speaking in disparagement of a "dialogue on theory and practice in the 'London Review' by old Mill in the character of Plato." "*Per contra*," he adds, "there is an article on Civilization, by John Mill, which is worth reading." There are historians who on the joint evidence of the text and of the index would construct a theory that at thirty years of age John Mill was prematurely "old." This identification of the father with the son bears a certain literary analogy to the theological heresy of the Patristians. But if James, with his dialogue on theory and practice, and his *History of British India*, is absorbed into John, John on the other hand is distinguished into John and John Stuart. Another eminent logician and political economist does not fare much better. "Whately, Archbishop, ceases to attend the Public Instruction or Board, 36. Joke attributed to him, 39. His book on gardening, 160. His Conversation at Mr. Senior's, 175." As we had never heard of Archbishop Whately's book on gardening, and were pleased to find that he had been attracted by the theme of Bacon and of Cowley's pleasantest essays, we betook ourselves to the page cited, and read, "Whately, the author of the book on gardening, was either the father or the uncle of the Archbishop of Dublin." From the text and the index combined, it follows that Archbishop Whately was either his own father or his own uncle. An eminent French



philosopher does not come any better off. "Comte, M. Charles, his 'Traité de Législation,' 231. His 'Cours de Philosophie,' 246." This is the latest wrong done to the injured shade of the great Auguste. To confound "Monk" Lewis and Cornwall Lewis would not be a greater blunder. It is instructive to learn, on the index-maker's testimony, that Mr. Hallam has somewhere or other made "remarks" on the Literature of Europe. The entry, "John, St., controversy as to the first and second epistles of," mixes up the author of the Durham Letter with the Scripture writer, confounding, on the strength of a misunderstood joke of Lord Brougham's, Lord John Russell with St. John. The member for Kilmarnock will be surprised to learn that he was once Home Secretary, in succession to Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who had the modesty to quit that high State office for the Financial Secretaryship of the Treasury. Other startling fragments of literary and political history are conveyed in the same index. Extraordinary though they are, they are by no means without parallel in our own and in foreign literature. In the first edition of Vapereau's *Dictionnaire des Contemporains*, for example, we are informed that Mr. John Forster, the former editor of the *Examiner*, "in spite of his varied occupations, has found time to write a series of biographies of the *Statesmen of England*, of which the best, *Goldsmith and his Times*, is considered by English critics to be a masterpiece of literary composition." The same authority records the fact that to Mr. Francis Newman's work on the *Soul* are to be attributed numerous returns to the Christian faith. These things, slight in themselves, throw the light of analogy upon some of the strange statements which are to be found in some modern writers of history. Their blunders are probably due to the fact that they are students of indexes and books of reference. If we can suppose Mr. Froude's researches leading him to the index of the law-book which is said to take note of "Best, Mr. Justice, his great mind," it is easy to imagine him penning a eulogy of the capacious intellect of that great magistrate, without turning to the text which narrates that Mr. Justice Best said he had a great mind to commit the witness for contempt. In the investigation of indexes we are on the traces of the method in which a good deal of history is now written, and on the sources of some of the paradoxes which mark it.

One practical conclusion commends itself to us as the result of these and similar inquiries. In an age of index-learning, and of the knowledge of references, our index-makers must be instructed. They are the teachers of the nation. At present their important office is exercised chiefly by the broken-down creatures who may be observed, scattered over the Reading-room of the British Museum, transcribing from huge folios, and looking like reduced secondhand booksellers, and penny-aliners out of employment. Why should not this important branch of industry be organized in accordance with the principles of the division of labour? Why should we not have a sacred College or Guild of Index-makers, with its Professors of various learning, and its licentiates or authorised practitioners in different branches of knowledge? Faculties might be instituted, and departments within these faculties. There ought to be theological, legal, medical, scientific, historical, and political index-makers, and no one should be allowed to practise in any branch of his art without having obtained, after examination, a diploma of confidence. The proof of knowledge which we require from lawyers, doctors, divines, and schoolmasters under the Privy Council, ought to be exacted from index-makers. The institution which we suggest would fall short of Mr. Matthew Arnold's ideal Academy, but it would have its humble uses.

#### THE FOREIGN OFFICE ON ECONOMY.

IN September of last year the Foreign Secretary addressed a Circular to Her Majesty's representatives in foreign capitals, in which he requested information as to the relative cost of living abroad as it is at present and as it was twenty years ago. The Reports of these gentlemen have now been published, and very unsatisfactory reading they are to people with fixed incomes and increasing families. If the cost of bare necessities, to say nothing of luxuries, goes on growing in a similar ratio for the next half century, there will be obviously no room in the world for any but millionaires. The contemplation of the contingency is equally appalling and perplexing, and lands us in a labyrinth of speculative political economy and Irish bulls. It is true that the witnesses who from China to Peru speak with a harmony so absolute are interested ones. If you ask a moderately-paid official his ideas as to the adequacy of his pay to the various calls upon it, you may count with some certainty on the tenor of his answer. Still the character of these gentlemen is a guarantee for the candour of their testimony, and, moreover, our own impressions and experience go a long way to confirm the general accuracy of their carefully drawn balance-sheets. What we were not prepared for is the universality with which prices have mounted in the ascending scale. We knew that in the great cities luxury had ceased to be within the reach of the economical, and that persons of modest means could no longer, merely *nutando calum*, plunge themselves in the vortex of fashion without being swamped. We were aware that when an English colony takes a place under its patronage, whether a second-rate German capital or a Mediterranean bath, everything from eggs to house-rent went on steadily multiplying its cost. But, after reading these Reports, a prudent father of a family with daughters to introduce and sons to

educate, in search of society and of schools cheap and good, may fairly turn away in despair. Even distant Scandinavia, ice-locked as it is for a third of the year, has not escaped the influence of the movement, and at Stockholm, as Mr. Davidson assures us, prices have risen a full 50 per cent. in the last fifty years. It is the same in the retired German capitals, placid refuges for those who had blue blood to stagnate in their veins, and give them access to the high-born aristocratic circles. These have not escaped the contagion of novel wants and expensive tastes, any more than of revolutionary doctrines; their inhabitants no longer content themselves with the refining influences of art and music, nor are satisfied with the quiet lounge in the park, or the early Court tea-parties. Of all of them, Dresden was the most dully pleasant, and the most popular. It had its English church of course, and what is more, it had its English club. The banks of the Elbe, from the pine woods over the river and the suburban villas dominating its banks, away to the Saxon Switzerland and the mountains of Bohemia, were charming. It had its gallery and the Madonna di San Sisto, it had its Brühl'sche terrace with beer and inimitable ices for the afternoon, and its Opera with the crashes of German melody for the evening. You found comfortable houses cheap, you had the run of the simple and reasonable amusements of the place, and no one, unless he pleased, was expected to entertain. Mr. Burnley writes that the plutocracy of Chemnitz and neighbouring manufacturing towns have changed all that. They bring the fortunes they have realized to Dresden, and vie with each other in expense and show, and the cost of their entertainments. Mr. Burnley is living now at twice the rate that would have sufficed him ten or fifteen years ago. Munich used to be perhaps even cheaper than Dresden. The art capital of South Germany must always have its attractions, although the wide handsome streets of its new town are almost as cheerless as the broad sandy plain that stretches away from its gates. Even at Munich the rise has been 50 to 60 per cent. on cheap Bavarian prices. Stuttgart, with its bright suburban watering-place of Cannstadt, is pretty if dull, and the forest scenery of Württemberg is enchanting and unacknowledged. But at Stuttgart too the advance in expenses has been "considerable." Even in the capital of Switzerland, where we should have thought that resident foreigners must be rare enough, prices generally have risen very decidedly, while tourists will not be at all surprised to learn that hotel bills have doubled. It must be remembered that imposing edifices like the Bernerhof are a change, if a questionable improvement, upon the snug old inns in the town like the Crown or the Falcon. Similar accounts come from all the smaller and more remote capitals in which Englishmen generally are less interested. What surprises us most perhaps is the report from Athens, although we were aware that hotels in Athens, as elsewhere in the East, were generally dear. But knowing the necessarily very modest amount of the salaries of the countless Greek officials, even of statesmen in the highest places; being aware of the measure of the dealings of the National Bank, and of the small sums of money in circulation in the country; we are almost startled to hear that a junior member of the mission must expend 400*l.* if he lives in furnished apartments, 600*l.* to 700*l.* per annum if he takes up his residence in an hotel—and the latter plan is pronounced in some ways the cheaper. Lisbon is the solitary exception, and there prices, like many other things, seem to have remained in arrears of the general movement in Europe. Even there, this is counterbalanced by the assumed necessity imposed by the climate of having a residence in the country as well as a house in town. It is very different in Madrid, which is of the less consequence as no one would feel greatly drawn to that palace of the bitter winds and baking sun, where human life, as the Spanish proverb has it, is blown out like the flame of a candle; and in Florence, which was once among the cheapest and pleasantest residences of Europe, the prices have trebled since its metamorphosis into the capital of united Italy.

We do not mean to follow the Report into yet more remote places on other continents. We will only observe that the genteel pauper may give up all thoughts of emigrating to either of the Americas, and that Buenos Ayres in especial, where expenses down to the entrées and the sweets are given with an admirable precision of detail, appears singularly undesirable. To come to the great European capitals. At St. Petersburg we learn that outgoings have only risen from 30 to 50 per cent., which may be explained perhaps by the circumstance that they have always been inordinately high for people moving in society. At Constantinople they have, in different items, increased from 25 to 100 per cent., but this signifies the less as the residence in Constantinople itself, where you are shut up among glorious views by dusty cart-tracks and cypress-wooded cemeteries, is one of the dullest in the world. Things are much dearer too in Berlin, where M. de Magnus writes that luxury has ascended into the houses up the indispensable marble staircases, and clings to the lavish stucco; but we never yet heard of a British family settling itself voluntarily in the sad city among the sands by the Spree. Life in Vienna, Lord Bloomfield tells us, is 70 or 80 per cent. more costly than it used to be, and we believe this is more or less the case in the provincial capitals, while even the settlers at Gaitz, who used to be exceptionally well off, have suffered in their degree. We did not need to read Mr. West's remarks to be assured of the influence of the Imperial régime and of the influx of strangers into the show capital of Europe upon prices in Paris. We are rather surprised, on the contrary, at his placing it so low as he does, when he asserts that the *attaché* who could have lived on 330*l.* in 1850 must expend 600*l.* in 1870.



Not that these calculations represent in practice the whole of the difference between the past and the present. Mr. West remarks with creditable courage that there is no necessity for the junior members of the diplomatic profession vindicating their position by needless expenses, or for their burdening themselves with any share of the duties of hospitable representation of their country. Theoretically this is no doubt true, but in practice the young men from whom we mould our diplomats are not of the sort to live the lives of anchorites in the middle of a city like Paris. Assuming, as of course we do, that they avoid the Scylla of the *lorette* and the Charybdis of the baccarat-table, there are still the countless expenses of society which at least plead plausibly for indulgence with any man who mixes in it. No town puts upon a popular bachelor such inevitable pressure to entertain as Paris does. It is so natural to ask the foreign acquaintance who has received you to accompany you into one of the hospitable restaurants, whose glass portals invite you at every step. If your circle of French friends is even moderately large, the tax of the New Year's Day *strennes* is likely to dwarf the total of the rest of your Christmas bills. It is one of those debts of honour that must be acquitted, under pain of black looks, cold shoulders, and social ostracism. We do not expect considerations like these to influence the votes of financial critics in the House, and radical reformers. We only express our personal sympathy with the agreeable diplomat who finds himself with a straitened income on board our diplomatic galley of the Faubourg St.-Honore.

But we have been tempted to diverge somewhat from our special object, which is the application of the facts of the Report to the private purposes of the public. If families and family men are not victimized in Paris in the same shape as successful bachelors, they have their own causes of complaint. They must lodge themselves in apartments more or less spacious, and M. Hausmann has been the evil genius of the house-hunter. The demolitions which have beautified Paris have driven them further and further to the west and north, chased them from the first floors to the second, and from the second attic-wards. From great to little Paris is a natural transition, and we must bring our discursive journey to an end in Brussels. Once upon a time it was the Boulogne of European capitals, where fashionable widows with small jointures and men of the world with embarrassing families sought sanctuary and mutual countenance. Its very hotels were marvels of profuse comfort and economy. Now, we are informed, "it would be difficult to find any city of Europe in which a more extraordinary change has taken place as regards the expenses of housekeeping, carriages, furniture, and the manner of entertaining." Always given to model itself on Paris, it has striven to tread hard on the larger city's heels in the matter of luxury, and has been very fairly successful. Belgium has been eminently money-making and prosperous, and rich merchants, manufacturers, and iron-merchants come to the capital to lavish their money unhandcapped. Not even in Paris does one see so much of vulgar display and costly bad taste as in the Boulevards of Brussels. As straws show how the wind blows, even the passing traveller may read the signs of the times in the heightened prices and dwindled *menus* of the hotel *tables d'hôte*. Innkeepers must do much more than make the two ends meet, and are driven to retrench on the traditional Flemish profusion. In short, turning from the contemplation of this dismal gallery of pictures, all painted in the same dispiriting hues, we are driven to the conclusion, that English families who cling to cities may as well stick by London, suiting the quarter they inhabit in it to the depth of their purses.

#### THE BURIAL LAW.

THE Dissenters in country districts of England appear to labour under a grievance somewhat similar to that which was apprehended for scattered adherents of the disestablished Irish Church. The only difference between the two cases is that the live Churchman may be unable to find a church, while the dead Dissenter cannot obtain admission to a churchyard. He is, indeed, entitled to be buried in the churchyard of his parish, but only according to the ritual of the Church. A Bill has been brought into the House of Commons to remedy this alleged grievance, which is rather oddly stated by Mr. Osborne Morgan, who complains that, at the funeral of a Welsh Methodist minister, the incumbent of the parish where he was buried "positively refused to allow any expression of feeling on the part of the multitude beyond what was prescribed in the Prayer-Book." One cannot but apprehend that, if the expression of feeling once commenced, it would be very difficult to place any limit on the shapes which it should assume, and almost impossible to stop it. Some friend or admirer of the deceased would probably desire to express his feeling in an oration over the grave, and the beginning of words would be like the letting out of waters. It would be improper to resist this Bill on what may be called an æsthetic consideration; but only let us imagine what would happen if the expression of feeling were allowed without impediment in churchyards. The undertakers would immediately prepare for a new line of business. They would advertise that they were ready to express feeling in the most tasteful and pathetic manner on moderate terms, and that a large variety of feeling was kept constantly on hand, and country orders were executed with promptitude and accuracy. It is difficult to say whether an upholsterer's funeral or a cemetery monument is the more objectionable. They both exhibit in its most offensive shape the pretentious vulgarity of the

age in which we live. The burial service as it is now performed belongs to an age of simplicity and exalted piety, but the expression of feeling which Mr. Osborne Morgan would interpolate would speedily debase it to suit the taste of the advertising undertaker of the nineteenth century. The great lesson of the equality of mankind, if forgotten everywhere else, is remembered in the services of the Church. The sumptuous procession of carriages or the humble train of bearers, the pile of gilded marble or the grassy grave, belong alike to a brother or a sister here departed. But if the expression of feeling is to be permitted beside the grave, we may be sure that regard for wealth or station will intrude into the only place from which it is now excluded.

We should by no means object to the expression of feeling which was desired in the particular case of the Welsh Methodist minister. If thousands of people followed him to the grave, they could not all get near it; but all could, and doubtless would, have joined in singing hymns of their own selection, if the incumbent had permitted it. But the incumbent only permitted them to sing one hymn of his own selection, and we can well believe that the assembled thousands departed in no good humour with the Church of England. If the Church only allows one hymn, while the Chapel allows hymns *ad libitum*, it is not to be doubted that the population of Wales will prefer the Chapel to the Church. This is only saying what has often been said before, that the rigid unyielding system of the Establishment interferes with its acceptance by the masses. It seems a pity that Methodists should be repelled by any cause from the Church, and especially by such a cause as the insufficiency of spiritual exertion which is permitted to them in the Church's services. We cannot help thinking that the incumbent already mentioned might have been conveniently deaf on the occasion of this funeral, and if the assembled thousands had sung hymns till they were hoarse we do not apprehend that the disorderly precedent would have been seriously mischievous to the Church. The incumbent might have finished the service, and started on a visit to a sick person in a remote corner of his parish, leaving the hymn-singing to transact itself in his absence. It seems a pity that the Church of England should be shaken, as we are told it has been, to its foundations by denying to Methodists the opportunity of expending their voices freely at a funeral. We should be disposed to place no limit to their singing, except that they should not shake to its foundations the particular church near which they sang. But of course the Methodists and other Dissenters would desire not only to interpolate hymns, but to have an entire service performed by their own ministers. They will urge that, when a member of a particular sect dies in a remote district, a minister may be got to perform the funeral, but that minister cannot be expected to bring a grave with him. The grave, they will contend, ought to be found in the churchyard of the parish to which the deceased belonged. A poor man, it is evident, must be buried where he dies, and if there be not a cemetery in the neighbourhood he can only be buried in the churchyard. He has been a Dissenter all his life, yet he is forced to become a Churchman after he is dead, and he is not permitted to protect himself against the burial service by a conscience clause. If a town were now to be founded, it would be a matter of course to provide, in laying it out, burial accommodation for all religious denominations. It is urged that the same ought to be done in towns or villages that were founded long ago; and it is not easy to resist this claim. One answer that is made to it of course is that here we have the thin end of the wedge. If the Dissenter gets into the churchyard he will next try to get into the church. But there would be force in the reply that the live Dissenter may walk to a distant chapel or stay at home, but the dead Dissenter must be buried somewhere soon. Many Churchmen would be unwilling to force the Church services on those who object to them, and at the same time they would admit that when Dissenters die they must be buried. It seems to follow that, in districts which are too poor to maintain separate cemeteries for Churchmen and Dissenters, a portion of the churchyard should be separated from the rest, and appropriated to burials at which the Church service is not performed. This separation has not perhaps been contemplated by all supporters of the Bill, but it would appear to be the only way to obviate disputes as to the exact place of burial. If there be not such separation, the incumbent must necessarily decide where a body should be buried, and his decision would hardly be satisfactory to Dissenters. If the existing churchyard is not large enough for convenient division, additional ground must be obtained at the expense of the district requiring it. We do not see that the much-abused principles of civil and religious liberty have any particular bearing upon this question. The Irishman contends that he has a right to live upon the land and, however this may be, it is undeniable that he, and also the Englishman, has a right to die upon it; and being dead, he must be buried either with or without a religious service.

But unless there be a division of the churchyard, difficulties and disputes would be interminable. It must be remembered that among the persons "having charge of or being concerned in" a burial would not only be members of well-known religious bodies, but all sorts of philosophers and fanatics. We hear of secularists and recreative-religionists and other associations, whose notions of a religious service would astonish a Churchman or even a Dissenter of the old steady-going sort. Nor does the Bill remove the difficulty by providing that a religious service shall be conducted in a decent and solemn manner; for who is to judge of decency and solemnity? It is quite competent for some enthusiast in an attic to invent a new religion out of his own head, and then to



"concern" himself in a burial, and proceed to conduct it decently and solemnly within view of the windows of an old-fashioned high and dry incumbent. Our enthusiast, while he is about it, may invent not only a religion, but a Deity. The Church may undergo a good deal for the sake of peace, but she can hardly submit to be turned into a Pantheon. It is the duty of Government to take care that this Bill shall be put into a practical shape before it passes, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. We think that the claim of the Dissenters is put upon too high ground, but it is hardly worth while to dispute the question of right, if we concede their demand as matter of expediency. They say that every parishioner has a right to be buried in the churchyard of his parish, and so he has; but his right is only to be buried according to the ritual of the Church. Every parishioner has a right to attend worship in his parish church, but he has not a right to choose what service shall be performed in it. He can hardly have a greater right when dead than he had when living. To say that a right exists when the meaning is that it ought to exist, tends merely to confusion. Be the right, however, what it may, some settlement of the question should if possible be arrived at which might help in future years to unite Dissenters with the Church. There is probably no composition in the English language after the Bible so widely known and so lovingly treasured as Gray's *Elegy*. The Bible belongs equally to all religious denominations; but the *Elegy* necessarily belongs to the Church of England alone. Nobody ever saw or dreamed of seeing a burying-ground of Protestant Dissenters in which that poem could have been composed. Yet a Dissenter can feel its beauty and may well wish that he had the part in it which a Churchman has. This view of the subject is not less important because it may be called sentimental.

There are not many cases in which "Christian burial," as it is called, can legally be refused. If a body which appears to be that of Jew, Turk, or infidel, be cast ashore from a wreck, the clergyman of the nearest parish is bound by law to presume that the body is that of a baptized person, and to proceed to bury it. But although this presumption must be made when the skin is dark, it appears that the question may be investigated when the skin is white. The sufficiency of lay baptism has been established as the doctrine of the Church of England by a well-known decision of the Privy Council, but it is conceivable that there might be a case where it was proved to a clergyman's satisfaction that the deceased had not been baptized at all. In the case of very young children the question actually arises and is answered. But, we should say, as regards a boy or man, it would be difficult to prove the negative of baptism if the minister did not wish it to be proved. The mere fact that the deceased belonged to a sect which did not baptize until an age which he had not reached ought not, as it would seem, to suffice to prove this negative. The present question, however, is not upon the existence of the right to burial in the churchyard, with the office of the Church, but upon the creation of the right to burial in the churchyard with any office which the deceased may have directed, or which the person "concerned" in burying him may choose. There is very little that a Dissenter would object to in the Church's office, and, in fact, the complaint is not of what it contains, but of what it does not contain, and does not admit to be interpolated. The aversion of Churchmen to the Bill is probably directed not so much to the solemnities which might be practised by those whom we will call regular Dissenters, as to the orations and other possible extravagances of eccentric and irregular professors of new religions. But we should expect that the public feeling would be a strong check upon absurdities.

#### THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW DOGMA.

THE *Schema* on Papal infallibility has now been three weeks in the hands of the Fathers, and Ultramontane journalists eagerly assure us that a definition may be immediately looked for. One of the English Roman Catholic papers, whose correspondence columns have borne abundant evidence of late to the bitter feud raging between the rival parties in the Church on the subject, announced last Saturday that the discussion must now be closed on what would so soon be transferred from the debateable land of opinion to the sphere of faith. And Dr. Newman's recent letter in the *Standard*, to which we referred last week, has been too hastily interpreted by some of his critics, both Catholic and Protestant, as implying that he also will be at once ready to submit to the obnoxious definition if it comes, however little he may desire it. It may be that he will, but at least he has not said so; and so consummate a master of English cannot fairly be held committed to more or less than the true and literal sense of the terms employed by him. Dr. Newman is indeed the last person to use language, like Talleyrand, to conceal his thoughts; but he always chooses language to convey his thoughts with a felicity and precision which ordinary speakers and writers do not often attain to; and his words, taken in themselves, may at least as well mean that he feels convinced the Council will not sanction the new dogma as that he is prepared to accept it when it is defined. Taken in connexion with the context of the letter, which strongly reprobates the Infallibilist programme, this seems the most natural meaning. Moreover he has only avowed his conviction that what the assembled Fathers constantly proclaim "with one voice" will be true, and it has been already pointed out by the first of living ecclesiastical historians that this unanimity is indispen-

sable, according to all precedents of former Councils, for a definition of faith. But it seems hardly possible that the new dogma should be defined at all under such conditions, and accordingly the regulations recently promulgated provide for the vote of a majority being taken as conclusive. It is of course very conceivable that the Court of Rome may order the four or five hundred prelates whose votes it can reckon on to decree Papal infallibility, and stop all further discussion, and it is quite certain that they will obey the order if it is given. But if professions are to go for anything, the large and influential minority who are led by Dupanloup and Strossmayer must feel bound to oppose such a decree, and their opposition would deprive it, according to Dr. Dollinger, of all moral weight, and would place it beyond the scope of Dr. Newman's letter altogether. To quote the impressive words of Mgr. Dupanloup, in his Second Letter to the infallibilist Archbishop of Mechlin—

You cannot speak of unanimity, nor allege "the general sentiment of the Episcopate and the faithful in Germany and France," when nearly the whole German Episcopate is against you; when its gravest bishops, after having, from Fulda downwards, expressed their fears, have just reiterated them with so much force; when so many French and so many American bishops, not to speak of others, have associated themselves with that act, and will stand by them in the discussion, if you insist on forcing it upon us.

It is, therefore, no "refining" on words, as has been oddly enough suggested, to indicate the significance of Dr. Newman's carefully specified limitation of his confidence to such conciliar judgments as the Fathers shall proclaim unanimously. He is not a writer to misuse or waste his words, least of all in so grave a question, involving, as Bishop Maret expresses it, "an entire transformation of the whole system of Christianity and the Church, and the substitution of *Credo Papam* for *Credo Ecclesiam* in the Creed." What another great leader of thought in the Roman Catholic world would have said to such a definition we know from his dying words, and we learn what importance was attached to them at headquarters from the way in which the news of his death was received at Rome. One would be glad to be able to disbelieve the report of the Pope's seizing the opportunity of a large reception of foreigners to pronounce a bitter condemnation on the opinions of the departed. But there seems at least no doubt about the public insult offered to Count Montalembert's memory, however the fact may be explained, by forbidding his friend Mgr. Dupanloup to celebrate mass for him, and arranging for its performance at a time when no members of the Council would be able to attend it. Rome is indeed very anxious just now to be saved from the services and the presence of her best and truest friends.

There have been so many conflicting rumours as to the particular shape which the proposed definition of infallibility was to assume that it is satisfactory at last to have the *ipsissima verba* of the *Caput addendum decreto de Romani Pontificis Primatu* laid before us. One commendation we need not hesitate to bestow upon it. There can be no possible mistake about its meaning, and there is no sort of attempt to shirk the most explicit statement of the new dogma in every detail, in the most explicit and offensive form. A tone of studied defiance runs through every clause. Some cherished conviction or venerable precedent or historical verdict is trampled upon in the moulding of each successive sentence. It can hardly have been from ignorance that all the most conclusive arguments against the Papal claim are glanced at in the form of the definition only to be contemptuously ignored, as though the compiler had chuckled, with a muttered *Vae victis*, over every line. The chapter consists of two paragraphs—the first purporting to give the reasons, and the second the actual decree. We will take them as they stand. We are first told that "the Holy Roman Church has received from the Lord, in the person of Blessed Peter, full and supreme primacy and principality over the Universal Catholic Church" (*super universam Catholicam Ecclesiam*), "with plenitude of power." On this it is sufficient to observe that, when Martin V. condemned the errors of Wicliffe in denying the supremacy of the Roman Church, he did not venture to make any such claim, with the recent decrees of the Council of Constance before his eyes. He explained that Wicliffe was in error because he meant by the Roman Church the Universal Church or a Council, or at least denied the primacy of the Pope *super alias ecclesias particulares*, which is quite another thing. The decree proceeds to state, that as the Pope is bound above others to defend the faith, so "whatever questions of faith arise ought to be settled by his judgment according to the words *Tu es Petrus*." If this assertion be true, one can but remark that, as *Punch* once said, "ought stands for nothing" in this world. Ecclesiastical history for above twelve centuries is a lamentable record of how entirely the Church has left undone what she ought to have done, and done what she ought not to have done. During that period no single question of doctrine was finally decided by the Pope, and his judgments were again and again revised and sometimes rejected by Ecumenical Councils. There is no hint of his right of finally deciding in any catechism or confession or in the theological literature of the Church. For four centuries there is no trace of any dogmatic decree at all of any Pope. All the great controversies of the early Church were decided without the intervention of Popes; in three only did they attempt to take part, and in none of these did they succeed in carrying their point. The great Arian controversy had been discussed in above fifty Synods and settled by the Council of Nice before Rome opened her lips on the matter. And the two first Popes who did speak on it, Julius and Liberius, spoke on the wrong side. When the Church



had been betrayed into complicity with Arianism by the heretical synods of Seleucia and Rimini, no one dreamed of appealing to the Pope to put matters right. At the second, both in time and in importance, of the Œcumenical Councils, when the divinity of the Holy Ghost was defined, Rome was not represented at all. Pope Sixtus, at the end of the fourth century, when appealed to, declined to pronounce sentence on an accused bishop, on the ground that he had no jurisdiction and must await the judgment of the bishops of the province. We might easily go on, but we have perhaps said enough to illustrate the modest claim that all questions of faith ought to be decided by the Roman Pontiff.

The compilers of this notable *caput* are not satisfied, however, with laying down the law as to what ought to be done. On the principle, we presume, that it is dangerous to argue with the master of twenty legions, they think they may venture to go a step further and roundly assert that what ought to be always has been. And they have, it would seem intentionally, chosen to frame their assertion in words which make it not only a substantial but a formal and verbal contradiction of the most notorious facts of history. "*Hæc quæ dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus: quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper Catholica servata religio et celebrata doctrina.*" If the words were chosen accidentally, there is an almost judicial infelicity about them. We need not pause here over the heterodox or contradictory judgments of Innocent I. and III., Gelasius, Vigilius, Leo IX., Urban II., Stephen III., Celestius III., Nicolas I. and III., and many more. There is one case, which is alone sufficient for the purpose, which is irresistibly forced on our recollection by the wording of the document before us:—"The Catholic doctrine," it says, "has always been preserved immaculate in the Apostolic See." There was once a Pope who thought very differently, and had the indiscretion to give public expression to his thoughts. Leo II., writing to the Emperor Constantine, after the Sixth Œcumenical Council, which had condemned his predecessor Honorius for heresy, stigmatizes him as one *qui hæc Apostolicam Ecclesiam profana proditiōne immaculatam maculari permisit*, while he volunteered the assurance to the Spanish bishops that Honorius was "eternally condemned" for doing so. And in the Profession of Faith in the *Liber Diurnus*, probably drawn up by Gregory II., and exacted for centuries of every Pope on his accession, Honorius is named, in terms apparently derived from Leo II.'s letter, among those "*qui novo et hæretico dogmate immaculatam Dei Ecclesiam pollueri nitentur*." If we are to accept the statement of the *Schema* on Infallibility, what are we to say of those former Popes who by anticipation so flatly contradicted it?

In the actual form of the definition which follows, three points are chiefly deserving of notice. In the first place, the new dogma is quietly assumed and acted upon before it is defined. The Council, whether unanimously or by a majority, is not even allowed to define it, but, as Dr. Dollinger pointed out in his criticism of the Infallibilist Petition, the Pope "bears witness to himself." It is not the Council which teaches, but "we (Pius) teach and define with the concurrence of the Sacred Council." Not only is the world to rest upon the tortoise, but the tortoise is to rest upon itself. In the next place, it may be worth while just to notice, in passing, that Papal infallibility is expressly extended to matters of faith and morals (*in rebus fidei et morum*), and therefore covers all such moral or immoral principles as were specified the other day in the letter of "an English Catholic" to the *Times*. And lastly, it must be observed that the "divine assistance" on which the Pope's "prerogative of inerrancy or infallibility" depends is expressly grounded on the words of our Lord to St. Peter in Luke xxii. 32—"I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not." It might perhaps be enough to point out that the infallibilist interpretation of our Lord's words is not only contradicted by the most certain facts of history, but is on the face of it thoroughly uncritical. The context shows clearly that the prayer was offered for St. Peter personally, and that the "faith" spoken of is not faith generically and in all the articles of the creed, but faith in the divine personality and mission of the Messiah. But it is more to the purpose here to remind the compilers and adherents of the new *Schema* of the oath imposed by the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent on all bishops and priests to interpret Scripture *juxta unanimum consensum Patrum*—the consent, that is, not of St. Bernard's writings, whether genuine or spurious, as Dr. Herbert Vaughan seems to imagine, but of the great Christian doctors of the first six centuries. Every bishop or priest who interprets this passage of Papal infallibility breaks his oath. No fewer than eighteen of the Fathers have occupied themselves with it—including among others the venerable names of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Leo the Great—but not one of them recognises in it anything beyond a personal promise to Peter that his faith in his Saviour should not finally succumb. Of any pledge of infallibility to himself, or still more to his successors, they breathe no hint. The first writer to apply the words in any sense to the See of Rome was Pope Agatho in 680, in the vain hope of averting the threatened condemnation of his predecessor Honorius, which his successor, as we have seen, accepted and most emphatically endorsed. It was not, therefore, his gratuitous assertion of the indefectible faith of his predecessors—qualified, however, by the admission that a great ignorance of theology had long prevailed at Rome—which the Council approved, but his profession of faith against Monothelism. The decree of the Council, and Leo II.'s subsequent statements quoted above, are a complete refutation of the desperate attempt to bolster up the rotten orthodoxy of Honorius by an arbitrary

misapplication of the words addressed to St. Peter before his denial of Christ.

We have now gone *seriatim* through all the clauses of the proposed definition, and are in a position to appreciate at its proper value the concluding anathema, "Whosoever shall presume to contravene this our definition, let him know that he has fallen away from the truth of faith." It is unfortunate if it be so, for whosoever shall presume to assent to it will unquestionably have fallen away from the truth of history and of fact.

#### THE IMPERIAL LAND COMPANY OF MARSÉILLES.

IF there is any truth in the common saying that there is a smack of pleasantness in the remembrance of great pain or loss, the shareholders in the more audacious speculations of 1865 and 1866 must have a very pleasant time of it just now. After years of strain, worry, and harass, the more fortunate of them are beginning to gather together the remnant of their shattered means and calculate the chances of decent subsistence in England. It must be eminently delightful to them to employ this tardy lull of care in conning over the incidents which led them into the labyrinth of difficulties from which they are at last beginning to extricate themselves. To those whose memories are short, or whose knowledge is inexact, we commend the judgment of Vice-Chancellor Malins in the case of the Imperial Land Company of Marseilles. It will revive the remembrance of certain very astonishing events in some minds, whilst to others it will present them in a clearer shape than probably they have hitherto worn. But whether the victims be careless or unobservant, the curious incidents by which they were affected, and which have left an enduring mark on the course of their lives, must even now be matter of thrilling and absorbing interest. Novelists who took the concoction and failure of the extemporized speculations of 1865 and 1866 as the subject-matter for their romances have been severely criticized for their wholesale fabrication of the wild and the improbable. Nothing, it has been said, could show such a want of knowledge of life and of art as the stories they devised of Companies started by men without capital, and recruited by men without brains; of profits enormous beyond the bounds of possibility, and of confidence limited by no restrictions of probability. Yet everything imagined by these extravagant writers of fiction barely keeps up with the devices and successes of Companies such as those to which reference was made the other day in the Vice-Chancellor's Court.

The Marseilles Land Company has indeed a marvellous history, and its own shareholders must even now be astounded at proceedings to which they themselves once were, in a certain sense, parties. They illustrate with a strange and curious light the art by which persons gifted with a peculiar talent for finance can create two or three Companies out of nothing, and make them give mutual support to one another. This is no despicable art. Let it be remembered that every Company pre-supposes capital, and that capital pre-supposes contributions, and that the contributions come from an infinite, or—to speak correctly—from a very large number of subscribers, each of whom has toiled with as much sedulousness in making, as he exhibits anxiety in parting with, the quota he contributes to the common fund. This is the first and the great achievement; to extract out of the pockets of the poor, the saving, the timid, and the sanguine, a sufficient sum to represent what modern speculators call "a big thing." The next achievement is to make the "big thing" pay its concoctors. Let no man, therefore, disparage the financial acuteness of the speculators who founded the "Land Company of Marseilles." This Company got together a capital of nearly four millions sterling. Now 4,000,000*l.* represents a very considerable item of our national taxation and expenditure. A Chancellor of the Exchequer who adds 4,000,000*l.* to the revenue, or remits 4,000,000*l.* of taxes, congratulates himself on his sagacity or his luck. And the founders of a Company who scrape together 4,000,000*l.* from the savings of tradesmen, widows, curates, doctors, governesses, and half-pay officers may equally congratulate themselves on having done a remarkably good stroke of business. Well; the Imperial Land Company of Marseilles did collect this sum. The next thing was to turn it to good account. By this we are of course not so simple-minded as to mean a good account for the shareholders. Companies are formed to attract shareholders, but to enrich Directors; and the Marseilles Land Company only followed the rule of all other Companies in making the best thing it could for its Directors. Having issued a prospectus glowing with the golden eloquence of promised dividends, it took the most certain way of confining its immediate profits to the authors of the scheme. On its Board were three Directors—Sir Joseph McKenna, Mr. Harvey Lewis, and Mr. Henshaw—who were the subjects of certain judicial remarks from Vice-Chancellor Malins, which probably they will not soon forget; with them were associated Mr. Albert Grant, of high fiscal notoriety, and two Directors of the Agra and Masterman's Bank. The three gentlemen first named were also Directors of the National Bank, and Mr. Albert Grant was the "*grande decus columenque rerum*" of the once flourishing Crédit Foncier. The revelations of financial card-shuffling which the law Courts have effected within the last few years will indicate to the simplest mind the basis of operations on which the Marseilles Company was sure to proceed. With Directors who had also seats on the Boards of the Crédit Foncier and of two Banks, it would indeed have been surprising if notes and



bills, paper and bullion, had not been shuffled from one hand to the other, and if everybody connected with the four concerns did not become, or seem to become, immediately rich. First of all, 3,300,000*l.* was paid to Mr. Masterman for the Marseilles property, by Directors two of whom were also Directors of his Bank. This was transaction No. 1 with a Bank. There was nothing complicated in this. It was simply a piece of unmitigated extravagance, such as the collusive apathy of shareholders always allows Directors to indulge in. A Board, two members of which were Directors of Agra and Masterman's Bank, paid a sum of more than three millions to Mr. Masterman for a property of which they knew nothing, and which, we believe, has never returned a farthing to the hapless shareholders who contributed the purchase-money. But this is nothing more or less than shareholders expect nowadays. There are other transactions which happily even the morality of the Stock Exchange does not regard as ordinary and commonplace. The 3,300,000*l.* paid for Mr. Masterman's property does not represent the whole amount that came out of the pockets of the shareholders. Six or seven hundred thousand pounds more were paid, nominally for the land, but in reality to reward the indefatigable energy of the promoters. And indeed we may observe that the marvellous strategy by which a great number of rather poor people were induced to subscribe 4,000,000*l.* for the purchase of a somewhat unprofitable property did demand a handsome acknowledgment; though that the shareholders were the proper persons to make this acknowledgment is not altogether so clear to us. Of this sum the *Crédit Foncier* got 360,000*l.* This must have been in the glorious days when that miraculous concern paid dividends of 40 per cent. But we are not at liberty to suppose that the whole or the bulk of this 360,000*l.* went to the shareholders of the *Crédit Foncier*. The noble art of paying capital away in the form of dividends was already known, and Mr. Albert Grant's colleagues were not likely to neglect its advantages. It will not be uncharitable, then, if we suppose that the Directors of the Land Company, who were also Directors of the *Crédit Foncier*, remunerated themselves in one capacity for the services which they had rendered in the other, and that when the wages of "direction" ended, those of "promotion" began. The Mercury whose golden wand showered these munificent *honoraria* on admiring and grateful colleagues was Mr. A. Grant himself. Speaking of this famous but not sufficiently exalted financier, the Vice-Chancellor remarks:—"Mr. Grant had got so much into the habit of handling large sums of money, that he gave 10,000*l.* to one person, 15,000*l.* to another, and, in fact, distributed sums of this magnitude with as much ease as other persons would have given half-crowns."

The several "persons" to whom these rich rewards were given out of the shareholders' money, and whom the Vice-Chancellor considerably does not name, seem to have had no compunction in receiving them at the time; but, as proceedings in the Equity Courts loomed nearer, their scruples waxed stronger. Under the influence of a tardy but not unreasonable repentance, they began to propose terms of accommodation with narrow-minded shareholders, whose appreciation of their own claims widely exceeded their appreciation of the claims of "promoters." One person who had received 110,000*l.* satisfied his conscience and his remonstrants by refunding 56,000*l.* Another, who had received 37,000*l.*, repaid 20,000*l.* But these claims do not measure the obligations of the Company, or the laxity of its administration. The very case which suggests these remarks arose out of a claim which more than any other illustrates the looseness and recklessness which characterized the whole administration. The Land Company prosecuted a suit in Equity in order to recover 5,000*l.* which had been paid by its Directors for the purpose of inducing the National Bank to receive its deposits. The very statement sounds preposterously ludicrous. Banks—especially new banks—are generally only too thankful to receive their customers' deposits without further consideration. The deposits are, in fact, the stock-in-trade wherewith banks carry on their business. And the trade is not, on the whole, considered a bad one. But the Directors of the National Bank thought differently when the Imperial Marseilles Land Company—a Company with nearly 4,000,000*l.* of paid-up shares—proposed to open an account with the National Bank. It was obliged, or it thought itself obliged, to purchase this favour by a premium of 5,000*l.* This was a strange and unparalleled proceeding; but the incidents which accompanied it were stranger still. The offer of this munificent premium came not from the Imperial Land Company of Marseilles, but from the "*Crédit Foncier* and Mobilier" of England. The Secretary of this gorgeous institution wrote to the Directors of the National Bank, informing them that they were to receive 5,000*l.* as "banking commission, in consideration of the trouble" they were to have in keeping the deposits of a Company which was going to spend 3,300,000*l.* in purchasing unknown land. And, although the money was to be paid for the Marseilles Land Company, it was to be paid, not by them, but by the *Crédit Foncier*. It is impossible to explain this circuitous transaction on any other hypothesis than that the Marseilles Land Company first paid the *Crédit Foncier*, and then the *Crédit Foncier* paid the National Bank. Such are the transactions of promoters. But why they should be so roundabout is not clear to plain folk. And it certainly has an odd look that Mr. Harvey Lewis, who was one of the Directors of the Land Company, and who might reasonably be supposed to have assented to the writing of this letter and the disposal of this money, should also be one of the Directors of the

National Bank, by whom this money was to be received. It is odder, too, that he should actually have been present when this letter was received at the bank. But it is oddest of all that he should have sworn that he knew nothing, or had forgotten everything about the source from which the money came. Perhaps few things connected with the concoction of Finance Companies are more remarkable than the inattention with which their most momentous operations are transacted, and the speedy oblivion to which they are consigned. In this case the multiplication of directorships in one person and the intervention of several Companies in the same operation may be supposed to have dulled Mr. Lewis's observation at the time, and to have deadened his recollection afterwards. Still it is obvious that this plea, though plausible as an excuse, is hardly satisfactory as a defence. There is an undoubted awkwardness in this ignorance about payments on the part of the man who officially received them. And the awkwardness is increased when the same person who did not know whence he received the payment of 5,000*l.* was also a party to the payment of more than 3,000,000*l.* for a property of which he never investigated the value or the capabilities.

Further comment is superseded by the strong observations of the Vice-Chancellor, who said that he "had seen a great many disreputable things in relation to companies since he sat upon the Bench, but he had never seen anything more discreditable than the transactions which had come to light in regard to the Imperial Land Company." It is not improbable that things still more discreditable may yet come to light. But surely enough has been revealed already to make people ask, Ought a man who is mixed up in these questionable dealings to be a member of the English Legislature? We are bound to give Mr. Harvey Lewis credit for his declared ignorance of the source whence the 5,000*l.* came, or for his belief that it was in fact paid by the *Crédit Foncier*. But when we remember that the *Crédit Foncier* had received 360,000*l.* from the Land Company for its services as "promoter," this ignorance on the part of a Director of the latter association certainly requires explanation. If the people of Marylebone—that is, that class of people which now return members—are indifferent to the character of the man who represents them, Mr. Harvey Lewis ought to consult his own conscience, and to ask whether, after the strong judicial remarks on his connexion with these most disgraceful operations, he thinks himself a fit person to make laws for England. Mr. Harvey Lewis is an "advanced Liberal," and probably not disinclined to Americanize the institutions of his country. But he ought to know that there is one species of Americanization from which the English Parliament and people still revolt; that by which their colleagues and representatives in St. Stephen's are degraded to the level of the most unscrupulous money-grubbers in one of the State Legislatures of the Union.

#### A SUNDAY IN NEW YORK.

WE are informed by the New York *Herald* that "the new editor of the *Oberlin* (Ohio) *News* has issued a salutatory, brief but to the point. He says, 'We come here to make money and a readable paper.' The "salutatory" of journals which hope to succeed and of journals which do succeed, and the valedictory of journals which fail, might, we conceive, as in *Oberlin* so in London, be reduced to the terse formulæ of our Ohio contemporary. But if we come to reduce the statement to logical form the proposition does not admit of simple conversion. All that is readable makes money, but we are hardly prepared to admit that all that makes money is readable. We have no doubt, for example, that Mr. Charles Dickens's later novels, and his readings, now brought positively for the last time to a final farewell, make money, but we should be sorry to pronounce the stories readable or the elocution tolerable. The New York *Herald* itself by all accounts makes money, but its "readability," to use a probable phrase of its elegant writers, must depend upon public taste. Among many specialties of this remarkable paper, and it seems to be an invention of its own, is giving on Monday twelve columns of reports of the various sermons preached and services held at the different churches and meeting-houses, tabernacles, conventicles, theatres, and music-halls in New York and Brooklyn. The reporters and penny-a-liners—we beg pardon, the journalists—engaged on the New York *Herald*, like their British brethren, must turn their hands to everything, and we seem to detect the same fine Italian hand in the reports of New York religion and Washington pleasures. A "Jam at the White House" and "the Gossips of Grace Church and the Beauties of Fashionable Worship and Lovely Ladies as Aids to Devotion" have the same unmistakable flavour of Jenkins, just as we find a British chiffonnier of literature adapting the same style of word-painting to the details of a burlesque and to the Ecumenical Council. We note the fact because, in the impending Americanizing of all our institutions threatened or promised by Mr. Bright, we shall probably some day find in our Monday's newspapers copious and personal reports of the sermons and dresses exhibited at the London churches on Sunday morning. We have already advanced a step towards this desirable consummation. Already the Saturday papers, or some of them, give us a prelibation of the banquet about to be spread next day by our spiritual pastors and masters, and from the increasing length of the announcements made by ecclesiastical touters of the "Preachers in the London churches to-morrow" we conjecture that the churches and the sects alike are getting fully aware of the advantages of advertising.



But, as in the case of theatres and other popular exhibitions, anticipatory advertisements ought to find their correlation in critical reports. A play or a burlesque is advertised and then criticized. It is only fair, if services and sermons are advertised, that they should be reported. The New York *Herald* is more logical than the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Globe*.

The difficulty, and by a little practice it may be got over, is in getting penny-a-liners to go to church—or rather, when they have got to church, in getting “journalists” who are sufficiently acute not to display their entire ignorance of a novel subject. Just as the typical dunkey of the jest-book hoped that it would be considered in his wages if he was to be required to attend family prayers, so we trust that the penny a line has been raised to twopence in the case of the gentlemen of the press who are required by the New York *Herald* to go to church on Sunday and afterwards write out their experiences of this unusual exercise. At present we should say, judging from the reports in the New York *Herald* of February 28, that the reporters have not yet quite settled to their work. Theological and ecclesiastical technology hardly comes, like reading and writing, by nature; and we remember some cases in this field of disquisition among ourselves where “able editors” and accurate sub-editors have committed their journals to queer blunders in unfamiliar matters. Years ago the *Times* inserted a report, communicated by some expert, of some choice ecclesiastical celebration in which the writer described the altar of a new church, or college, as elevated on a “foot-pace,” the recognised phrase for a step. This was printed in the *Times* as a “foot-pan.” The New York *Herald* has not perhaps committed so good a joke as this, but its Religious Summary shows here and there the lucubrations of tyros in church-going. It used to be said of a deceased Bishop, who had acquired a knack of looking very unctuous and religious in church, that he always joined in the Lord’s Prayer as though it were a decided novelty which he had met with for the first time. The journalist who does Grace Church for the *Herald* may be pardoned for his gushing and enthusiastic language, seeing that “the strikingly impressive effect” of what he saw and heard was decidedly the same sort of impression which is made upon us by our first pantomime. The picture is drawn by a novice in religious, but an expert in theatrical, effects:—

The softened holy light streaming through the multi-coloured panes and devices in glass, the wavy pearls of music, the deep and stately tones of the earnest preacher’s voice, the delicate tracery in the Gothic roof, resting on high-reaching moulded pillars, the massive dark-stained and richly-furnished pews, the elegance of toilet and beauty of feature among the many fair worshippers, the air of real and calm and quiet contemplation, had altogether a strikingly impressive effect.

That is to say, the combination of the Beauty of Holiness and the Holiness of Beauty had such an effect upon the susceptible reporter that we are not altogether surprised at his conclusion:—

Sitting on a softly cushioned seat near the centre aisle, midway between the chancel and the entrance, listening to the music, the ripple of responses from the congregation, and the full sonorous swell of the reader’s voice, it was difficult to feel otherwise than an impulse of sympathy with this order of Christian worship.

Grace Church, we need hardly say, is a very orthodox Episcopal church; but not an extreme one. And yet, if we may trust the reporter, some things are done there which would make even Mr. Purchas stare and gasp. We are informed that “after the splendid voice of Rev. Mr. Egbert had ceased to intone the lessons of the day, the tall form of the Rev. Dr. Potter rose in the pulpit.” If in the use of New York the sermon follows the second lesson, and nothing follows the sermon, for such we are explicitly told was the case on this occasion, the New York Episcopalians can hardly complain of the length of their Sunday devotions.

We felt curious to know how the more advanced school manages matters across the Atlantic; but we regret to say that the reporter on “St. Alban’s Ritualistic Church,” evidently knowing nothing about the matter, skulks from his duty in language safe, but provokingly vague. We are only informed that

The services are of the orthodox ritualistic order. The officiating clergymen are attired in ecclesiastical vestments, and are surrounded in their exercises by a throng of white-robed chorists. While the celebrant solemnly recites the prescribed passages the members of the congregation alternately bow and cross themselves in the responses, while additional tapers are lighted as the worship progresses.

The impression made upon the gentlemen of the press by the Episcopal churches seems to have been that of an assembly of lotos-eaters, a calm and dreamy Castle of Indolence, and a revival, if anything, of the Dutch governors of New York. The Secularians are certainly more lively. At Plymouth Church, so the summary informs us:—

Mr. Beecher preached on the “hourly preparation to meet God in the other life,” and some of his hearers must have thought they had been rather delayed in this work by those gentlemen who stood at the door of the tabernacle crying out “Only pew-holders allowed to enter at present.” Silently, and with Christian resignation, we trust those unhappy mortals who had been unable to bid for a pew, stood by while the elect, some of whom, we fear, imagined that they had paid a price for the first consideration of the Lord, entered in silks and satins. . . . These anxious supplicants for divine grace were no sooner seated than some of them engaged in pious conversation about sociables and the price of gold.

At the Church of the Messiah—Unitarian—a singing match was decided. The pastor’s place

was filled by a Boston clergyman, who informed the congregation that he had heard much of their singing, and desired to ascertain for himself if they could do as well as the congregation on “the Hub.” Thus challenged, the worshippers struck up “Far from mortal cares retreating,” with an

energy and a lustiness that must have been gratifying to the challenger, and we pray acceptable to Him, &c. The match was worthy of the metropolis.

At the Lyric Hall, Mr. Frothingham, the person who assisted Mr. Beecher in the clinical marriage of Richardson and the woman McFarland, got into first principles and the high etymological latitudes, and also somewhat out of soundings. He delivered a “sermon on religion, which word has three definitions—one to ‘read over,’ one to ‘bind again,’ and a third to ‘loosen.’” We are quite aware that Cicero is responsible for the first, and that Lactantius and others father the second derivation of the word. But that religion means a “releasing” is peculiar to Mr. Frothingham’s dictionary, though not to his practice, seeing that in the ceremony aforesaid he considered the loosening of the marriage knot a very religious duty indeed.

Were it not that to inculcate any duty is not in their way, and did we not detect a slight plagiarism of a certain Spartan practice, we should for liveliness recommend to the conductors of the Sunday Lectures at St. George’s Hall the following American mode of spending Sunday evening:—

The usual temperance meeting, under the auspices of the King’s County Temperance Association, was held at Hooley’s opera-house last evening. The place was crowded to excess, and the “end men” got off several very amusing caricatures of inebriates to the delight of a decidedly “mixed” audience.

If, as we have already hinted, the knowledge of the New York reporters is limited on religious matters, as in one case where we are informed that the sermon was on the text “Charity never faileth,” and in another where a verse, new to the Authorised Version, is quoted, “Thou didst not lead thy Holy One to see corruption,” the penny-a-liners are quite at home in their pictorial and personal estimate of New York church-going. The column which, in the New York *Herald*, immediately follows the Religious Summary is filled with an account of the “receptions and balls last week.” The one column reads exactly like the other, and evidently proceeds from the same pen. At the White House we are told that the President’s wife “wore a robe of ruby velvet, with her portly shoulders subdued under a fichu of point d’Alençon,” and that Mrs. Hamilton Fish “wore delicate mauve satin.” At the churches the reporters are equally and in every sense at home. At Grace Church the “costumes of velvet and plush jackets in brown and black were numerous.” “Rich and heavy velvets and flashing diamonds” are noticed at one church, while at another we are favoured with a personal introduction to “a young lady of nineteen, small but elegant in figure, with a complexion of the purest pink, &c. &c., and attired in a silk dress, draped with graceful flounces *en panier*, a pink tie, and a pretty beau-catcher.” In New York the Quakeresses seem to “comprise the wealth, beauty, and fashion of the city, and it might make Fox and Mrs. Fry turn in their graves when told of the velvet and silks, satins and iris plumes of the doves. But they are run hard by the sable belles. In Zion Coloured Church we find that “the congregation is decidedly well-dressed, and that a subdued quietness prevails, which gave a very elegant *tout ensemble*: while deep purples and black velvets show to advantage a dark skin and pearly teeth, and that the costumes are heightened by diamond pins and ear-drops.” To do them justice, the various pastors seem to feel what the Bishop of Orleans calls the Unbridled Luxury of Women as a sort of challenge, and a good many of them preached against the feminine extravagance of the age. One pulpit orator quoted some verses new to us:—

What is the reason, can you guess,  
That men are poor and women thinner?  
So much do they for dinner dress,  
That nothing’s left to dress the dinner.

But, judging from our own experience, the women rather like these pastoral oburgations. They treat a homily against fine clothes as a sort of “beau-catcher” and advertisement of their own and their milliners’ taste. We are not sure that there is not some understanding between the shepherds and the lambs of the flock, and that the ladies do not consider the pulpit reproof rather in the light of a testimonial of their good taste and skill in fashion. The writer of the Religious Summary of New York says that there were only two aristocratic churches in which the subject of female dress was not touched on in the pulpit. We can only say in conclusion that we almost, when it is too late, begin to repent of giving this picture of Sunday in New York. What if the satire should prove an inducement and the beacon be taken for an attraction? We may yet live to see a new *Pietas Londinensis* edited by the compiler of the *Court Circular* and the reporters of the *Morning Post*. And as at New York we are informed that “ex-Health Commissioner Crane, and Mr. Chauncey, President of the Mechanics’ Bank,” said their prayers, or listened to somebody else’s prayers, at Trinity, Brooklyn, while “Mrs. Commodore Vanderbilt and her mother, Mrs. Crauford, with others of equal prominence” honoured Almighty God and Dr. Deems with their company at “the Church of the Strangers”—we should have been glad of some information about the fashionable congregation who assembled at the parti-coloured striped brick “church edifice” in New York commonly known as the Church of the Holy Zebra—we are not without serious apprehensions that the day is not distant when the dresses and devotions of the Sunday visitors to the Belgravian churches will be as fully reported in the London newspapers as the victims of those much duller entertainments, Belgravian receptions.



## THE POOR LAW BOARD AND ST. PANCRAS.

IN the political interests of the last six weeks most people have forgotten the St. Pancras Board of Guardians. We have not been sharers in that blissful oblivion, because ever since we committed ourselves to a prediction that the last had been heard of this unpleasant institution, and found it falsified by the proceedings of the next weekly meeting, we have ceased to expect that they will be got rid of. There are natural inflictions with which the progress of science has not enabled the inhabitants of certain countries to cope, and though it may be hoped that humanity, decency, and common sense are on the whole making way in England, we shall probably be liable for all time to periodical visitations of Watkines and Edmundses. In the present case, however, it is no new instance of misconduct on the part of the representative men of St. Pancras parish that we have to deal with, and for this—small mercy though it be—we desire and strive to be thankful. We have only to notice the decision of the Poor Law Board on the charges brought by the Guardians against Dr. Ellis, the medical officer to the Workhouse Infirmary, and the incidental testimony thereby afforded to their virtues and discretion. Now that the subject is again brought before them, our readers will perhaps remember that the accusation of Dr. Ellis was a species of cross-indictment designed to show that the homicides committed in the Infirmary were attributable to the negligence or wilful misconduct of the medical officer, and not to the parsimony or cruelty of the Guardians. The charges in question were four—first, that Dr. Ellis had mismanaged the ventilating apparatus, and by so doing had given the medical examiners a wrong impression, and allowed the air in the wards to become unnecessarily impure; secondly, that he had been himself the cause of the overcrowding so constantly complained of in his reports, by keeping in the Infirmary patients whose proper place was the infirm, or even the ordinary, wards of the Workhouse; thirdly, that he had put cases of contagious fever into the general wards for the purpose of generating an epidemic; and, lastly, that he demanded inquests in cases where none were needed, with the double object of putting money into his own pocket and bringing the administration of the Workhouse into discredit.

The result of the inquiry conducted by Mr. Montagu Bere and Dr. Seaton amounts to an acquittal of Dr. Ellis upon three of these charges and a part of the fourth, and to a verdict of "not proven" upon the other part of the fourth. As to the alleged misuse of the ventilating apparatus, the Inspectors remark, however, that Dr. Ellis "leant, very much more than medical authorities generally would approve, to the opinion that foul air was less injurious to patients than risks of draughts—such directions as he was proved to have given being all directed against the latter contingency, notwithstanding the admitted foulness of the air in some of the wards." The medical officer was in fact reduced to this dilemma—that whether he shut the windows or opened them he must probably kill off a pauper or two. Either way the economical interests of the parish would be furthered. Bronchitis would do the work if one alternative were adopted, the general action of impure air would do it if the other alternative were preferred. As for the course taken by Dr. Ellis in this dilemma, we suspect that there is more to be said for his conclusion than the Inspectors seem willing to allow. The inmates of a workhouse infirmary are many of them old, and almost all of them have been accustomed to considerable overcrowding in their own homes. The "medical authorities" to which the Report refers have usually expressed themselves without reference to these peculiar conditions. Habit has made the poor familiar with a foulness of atmosphere which would be fatal in a very short time to any one not inured to it by long custom, but it has not brought them in contact with violent draughts of cold air. To take an old woman whose delight it has been to paper up every crack in her window, and stuff rags into every crevice in her wall, and put her close to a large ventilator, would probably do her far more harm than to let her go on breathing air which, however pestilent it may be in its composition, is at least of a temperature to which she has been used. Before deciding that Dr. Ellis is at issue with "medical authorities generally" as to the comparative disadvantages of foul air and cold draughts, we should like to have the opinion of these authorities upon the very peculiar difficulty in which he found himself.

Upon the charge of keeping patients in the Infirmary who might properly have made room for others, the Inspectors point out that there was nowhere else to send them. It is clear, they say, "that the male infirm wards were at that time full, and that Dr. Hill, the medical officer of the Workhouse, had reported such fullness from time to time to the Guardians." Upon the third charge—that of putting fever patients into the general wards, in order that the disease might become general in the Workhouse—the Poor Law Board, besides acquitting Dr. Ellis of all blame in respect of it, "deem it right to express their great surprise and regret that so gross and unfounded a charge should have been imported into the inquiry." Most people will consider that "surprise and regret" are a somewhat mild censure on officials who have falsely accused a man of deliberate and wholesale murder. The fact that such an accusation has been made is, however, an undesigned testimony to the value which its authors set upon pauper life. Even they might have thought twice before accusing their medical officers—for upon this point they coupled Dr. Hill with Dr. Ellis—of a "design of producing an epidemic," if they had regarded the victims of it in the light of men and

women. If we suppose that they viewed the inmates of the Infirmary simply as so many animals, distinguished from most others by the circumstance of being nobody's property and possessing no money value, it may naturally not have occurred to the Guardians that they were accusing Dr. Ellis of anything very bad. But though this theory may exonerate them from the blame of intentional libel, it hardly makes them more fit to have the charge of paupers.

As to the charge relating to unnecessary inquests, the Poor Law Board "regret that Dr. Ellis, by initiating inquests on what the Inspectors have found to be slight and insufficient reasons, should have exposed himself to the suspicion" of being actuated by pecuniary motives—a suspicion, they add, from which "he did not succeed in exonerating himself." This conclusion seems to leave out of sight the fact, surely not an unimportant one, that in a large number of cases the inquests held on people dying in St. Pancras Infirmary ended in verdicts directly charging the death on the sanitary condition of the Workhouse. After one such verdict had been returned, it is difficult to understand how any inquest could have been asked for "on slight and insufficient reasons." The main end of all such inquiries is to ascertain whether death has been brought about by unavoidable causes or by human agency, and as soon as it had been established that one person had been killed by the failure of the Guardians to provide proper accommodation for sick paupers, every subsequent death in the Infirmary might conceivably be traced to the same cause. The arrangement by which the shamefully insufficient pay of Poor-law medical officers admits of being supplemented by additional inquests is obviously faulty in the extreme, but in this case we cannot but think that the reports of some of the inquests held ought to have satisfied the Inspector that *prima facie* reasons could never be wanting to justify as many inquests as there might be deaths in the Workhouse Infirmary.

We have no wish to ask impossibilities from Mr. Goschen, and there may be some ground for maintaining that to put the system of rating on a more satisfactory basis is to take up metropolitan Poor-law reform at the right end. But we confess to a feeling of keen disappointment at finding that he is not going to turn the disgust excited by the St. Pancras Guardians to any immediate account. It is quite possible that they may be re-elected next Easter, and though the management of the Infirmary will happily be no longer in their hands, they will still be absolute masters of the inmates of the Workhouse generally. It cannot be called over-strained sentiment to hold that the men who persistently consigned sick people to the close vicinity of open sewers, and left them to catch the rats for themselves, have thereby shown themselves utterly unfit to be entrusted with the care even of able-bodied paupers. The peculiar characteristics of the St. Pancras Guardians would usually be considered a disqualification even for the warders of a convict prison. As the law stands, however, these men, if re-elected, will be in a position to disgrace the Poor-law system by another year of unchecked and irresponsible misconduct. The events of last autumn proved that the Poor Law Board can exercise no effective control over a really obstinate Board of Guardians. Mr. Forster's Education Bill may teach Mr. Goschen how the law ought to deal with local authorities who refuse to do their duty. We acknowledge that this remedy might not prove easy of adoption, but a Minister who has to confront the problem of pauperism must learn not to be afraid of difficulties.

## MR. BELLEW'S MACBETH.

WE must once more inquire why, if Mr. Bellew wishes to act, he does not go upon the stage in the usual way? If the indelicacy of his clerical orders be the obstacle, we recommend his case to the sympathetic consideration of Mr. Gladstone. He seems to be smitten with a stage madness which must gradually overpower the resistance of his reason. He read *Hamlet* from a table, with the assistance of silent figures who gesticulated on a stage above him. He has now mounted to the stage himself, and reads *Macbeth* with the assistance only of a chorus, and, while calling himself a reader, he largely appropriates the province of the actor. There is no room for a chorus in *Othello*, but if there were we should fear that Mr. Bellew in his histrionic frenzy would single out one of the ladies who composed it, and would address her in language which certainly ought not to be applied to any young person of respectability unless it is considered in her wagers. Without intentionally selecting a Desdemona or Emilia it might easily happen that Mr. Bellew, as he turns all ways, might direct, or appear to direct, strongly personal observations to the chastity or fidelity of a lady who was neither a Venetian wife nor any other questionable personage, but merely a well-trained singer with a good voice. The ladies of the chorus in *Macbeth* suffer no imputation on their characters, but one of them is in some danger of being hit when Mr. Bellew, in his perturbation at the sight of Banquo's ghost, throws from him the goblet in which he was about to pledge his guests. The use of this goblet by Mr. Bellew raises a question rather difficult to answer. We should like, if possible, to know upon what principle Mr. Bellew allows himself some properties and abstains from using others. We have seen tragedians on the regular stage exhibit strange caprices in this respect. Thus Mr. Phelps at Drury Lane Theatre used to play *Macbeth* in a smart suit of tartan, and a broadsword and target, in which he managed to look much younger than he was. But Mr. Phelps rather



damaged the illusion by laying aside his target just at the moment when he had need to use it. He did not say, by a slight adaptation of the original,

Into a corner  
I throw my warlike shield;

but this is what he did. He wore it out of doors all through the play, just as a modern gentleman does his umbrella, but he laid it aside before fighting with Macduff, on the same principle, perhaps, that the Life-guardsmen wished to divest himself of his cuirass before going into action. He expected that it would prove more of an encumbrance than a defence, as very possibly it might. Mr. Phelps, or his antagonist, or both, may have been imperfectly acquainted with the use of arms, and they may have thought that they would have as much as ever they could do to manage swords, and had better let shields alone. Any deviation from the regular stage combat, in which one holds his sword at a guard while the other cuts at it, might involve awkward blunders, and perhaps on the whole the combatants were right in thinking that shields were dangerous. Mr. Bellew, we need not say, has neither sword nor shield; and viewing him on the side of art, we should calculate that he might be doubled up by a very moderate hit in what is technically called the bread-basket. Mr. Bellew, in fact, is not as young as he was, and has gone considerably out of training. Yet he evidently thinks that a combativeness of aspect must in some manner be assumed for the last scene of *Macbeth*, and the source of his conception of this part of the character would seem to be the prize-ring rather than the school of arms. As he utters the words "Yet will I try the last," he assumes an attitude which suggests to the spectator that he is about to try the left. And as he moves from the desk in the centre to the side of the stage, exclaiming "Lay on, Macduff," we feel that he might properly have said "Before my body I throw my warlike right," since he seems to be preparing to stop a blow of Macduff's with his right and return it with his left. Mr. Bellew at this moment looks much more like a prizefighter than he does like a king or general, and yet he looks very unlike a prizefighter indeed. The hands, as we have said, are held somewhat in the manner of the ring, but the motion of the body is rather that of a nursemaid carrying a baby, and the legs are not planted on the ground with that combination of lightness and firmness which professors of the noble art of self-defence desire to see exhibited by their pupils. But, criticize the attitude as we may, Mr. Bellew, who evidently studies his performance of *Macbeth* carefully, chooses to assume it, and if there was a Macduff upon the stage he must, so far as we can see, assume a corresponding attitude. Mr. Bellew cannot suppose himself to be encountering his enemy with a sword, because his left arm, and not his right, is advanced towards the imaginary foe. We would recommend him, before he begins his provincial tour, to take a few lessons in the use of the weapon which he selects; and if that weapon be the fist, we are able to assure him, on the best possible authority, that private lessons in boxing are given to gentlemen by several professors, by whom gloves and every requisite, including a mop if necessary, will be provided. If Mr. Bellew is going about the country reading, or rather acting, *Macbeth*, we venture to remind him that he will incur a grave responsibility if he instils into the minds of English youth imperfect conceptions of their duty to plant themselves firmly on their legs and to hit out freely with their left. Let Mr. Bellew, if he chooses to assume a fistic attitude, do so correctly; and when he does so, he would perhaps make his words harmonize more completely with his gestures if he were to say "Come on, Macduff," instead of following the received text.

But Mr. Bellew reads a large part of the speeches of Lady Macbeth besides those of her husband, and it certainly appears rather strange that he should choose to do so when he might select male characters from the whole of Shakespeare. Men have various ambitions, but we should think that there never was a man, until Mr. Bellew appeared, who desired to excel in the representation of a woman's part, except for the purpose of burlesque. We should not feel surprise at Mr. Bellew's merely reading a woman's part, because many experienced actors who instruct pupils are called upon habitually to read their parts to them. But Mr. Bellew acts the celebrated sleep-walking scene as if he really intended to compete with the great actresses who have thrilled spectators by performing it. A lighted lamp is placed upon the table, so that Mr. Bellew may take it in his hand and go off with it at the proper moment. We are tempted to inquire why Mr. Bellew does not assume a frilled nightcap for the same occasion. He takes the lamp and moves away with a sort of gliding step which suggests to spectators not so much Lady Macbeth as Mr. Pecksniff fluttering, strangely attired, on the top landing, and expressing a desire to see Mrs. Todgers's idea of a wooden leg, if quite agreeable to that lady. We do not know how far Mr. Bellew intends to go in the female line of business, but we would suggest that, by way of a useful protest against certain doctrines of the day, he should read the *Taming of the Shrew*, taking special pains with the delivery of Katharine's lecture on a wife's duty to her husband. Of course when Katharine, at her husband's order, takes off her cap and flings it on the ground, Mr. Bellew will suit the action to the word, and we hope that his milliner will suit a cap to his complexion. And while we are upon the subject of headgear, let us say that another excellent effect might be produced by Mr. Bellew as Constance in *King John*; and if he said, as he would have to say, "This hair I tear is mine," he would be likely to be as near the truth as any lady who might undertake to read the part. The process of unsexing which Lady Macbeth de-

sired to be performed upon herself will thus go forward in her representative, and perhaps when Mr. Bellew returns from his provincial tour he will have overcome his lingering scruples, and will commence his regular career upon the stage as an actor of tragic females. He will find the management of petticoats and a train not much more difficult to acquire than the art of stopping neatly with the right and hitting freely with the left.

As we have already said, there is no dumb show in *Macbeth*, as there was in *Hamlet*, but the stage is partly occupied by the ladies and gentlemen who are to sing Locke's music when the time arrives, and who in the meanwhile sit quite still and look straight forward. In the next play that Mr. Bellew takes in hand there will be no chorus, and he will be in the middle of the stage alone, looking as desolate as a boiled leg of mutton without trimmings. Not that Mr. Bellew will feel in the least degree uncomfortable in solitude, but, on the contrary, we shall expect to see him improving the opportunity thus afforded by striking attitudes in all parts of the stage. For the present he is restrained in his movements by the fear of tumbling over the benches of the chorus, but when this impediment is removed we quite believe that he dares do all that may become a man, and much also that may not. But if he chooses to stand up in the hearing of some scores or hundreds of people, and state that he has given suck, and knows how tender 'tis to love the babe that milks him, we can only observe that tastes are various. It should be remarked that Mr. Bellew does not imitate the practice of a lady who, when she lately played Lady Macbeth, pronounced the words "I have given suck" in a confidential whisper, as if she were mentioning to her husband something which had been a secret even from him before. There are not probably many living actresses who can play Lady Macbeth as it has been played in former times, and Mr. Bellew has kindly undertaken to supply what would otherwise be a lamentable want. We shall wait with interest to see what sort of accessories Mr. Bellew will employ in his next experiment, or whether he will rely upon his own unaided powers. The music, if tolerably performed, is a great assistance to *Macbeth*; and if it had been necessary, Mr. Bellew could have found a powerful ally in Banquo's ghost. But in a play that admits neither music nor a ghost, Mr. Bellew will have to rely upon his own resources, and he may be expected to act his characters more vehemently than ever. We are not without hope of seeing him act Desdemona in bed and Othello out of bed at the same moment, and indeed it would be difficult to anticipate to which character he would give the preference. Of people who think they have a tragic turn all men desire to act Othello, and all women Desdemona. Mr. Bellew would probably desire equally to act both.

#### CRYSTAL PALACE CONCERTS.

THE thirteenth series of Saturday Concerts at the Crystal Palace, now far advanced, has hitherto yielded in variety of interest to none of its predecessors. This we shall endeavour to show in a brief retrospect. Meanwhile we may observe that the good these concerts have been the means of effecting and the reputation they have conferred upon the Crystal Palace, as a place in which, during six or seven months in the year, one of the arts at least finds serious recognition, and honour in proportion, are generally acknowledged. It, therefore, behoves those in authority to extend every facility to the musical conductor, and to allow no obstacle to interfere with absolute efficiency. Many amateurs are doubtless grieved to see the time and labour of such a thorough disciplinarian as Mr. Manns, and such an admirably trained orchestra as his, employed, during a certain period of the year, in making music to the antics of harlequins and clowns, and, month after month, accompanying mediocre representations of what is politely called "English opera." Why not engage special performers for such entertainments? This would enable Mr. Manns to devote his energies exclusively to the good work which he was the first to originate, and which he has carried on for years with ability and well directed enthusiasm. The worst misfortune that could happen to the Crystal Palace would be the breaking up of an institution which has earned the name of "the Sydenham Philharmonic," and even helped more than anything else to the good opinion of those whose opinion is worth having. But this must sooner or later inevitably happen if the performances deteriorate; and how can they fail to deteriorate when obstacles like those to which we have referred are thrown in their way?

The concerts that preceded Christmas, in so far as related to the instrumental part, were almost uniformly good. As before, and as we trust and have little doubt will continue to be the custom, an orchestral symphony formed the solid attraction of almost every programme. Among the symphonies already familiar to the Crystal Palace, and about which there is little new to be said, were Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 7 of Beethoven (in C, D, C minor, and A); the so-called "Oxford symphony" of Haydn (in G); Mendelssohn's *Reformation*; and Schumann's in D minor (No. 4—or more correctly speaking, No. 2). The earlier essays of Beethoven in this direction are by no means too frequently brought forward; but the C minor, if laid by for a while, would come out again all the more vigorous and fresh. Not only at the concerts of the Crystal Palace but at several of the London orchestral concerts it has been heard of late; and if such a term may possibly apply to anything so noble, it runs the



chance of becoming as "hackneyed" as the Kreutzer-Sonata and the pianoforte trios of Mendelssohn, which, while few can play them as they should be played, every aspirant attempts. On the other hand the symphony in G—that dear old "Letter Q," as Thackeray would have said—composed for the concert at Oxford in July, 1791, when the degree of Doctor in Music was conferred upon Haydn, might bear hearing much oftener. In former days this symphony was familiar—at least to those who had the privilege of attending the Philharmonic Concerts, instituted some twenty years later than the event at Oxford and three years after Haydn's death (at Vienna); but now, while our opportunities are comparatively manifold, the case is different. Yet the Oxford symphony is a masterpiece; and Haydn himself in his happiest moments of inspiration has not surpassed its final *presto*. Of Mendelssohn's "Reformation Symphony"—received with unabated enthusiasm, the charming *allegro vivace* in B flat and G being, as usual, encored—so much was written last year that in suggesting that it may brave an annual hearing for a long time to come, we have said all that is requisite. The D minor symphony of Schumann, in form the most original and independent, is in matter of detail the poorest of the four that came from his laboured and ambitious pen. A peculiarity in this symphony is that the various movements—introduction, *allegro*, romance, *scherzo*, and *finale*—run into each other, without finishing; so that the whole constitutes one continuous piece; while certain themes in the introduction and *allegro* reappear in other movements. A plan like this could only have been made acceptable by genius far above that of Schumann; and we must confess that in listening to his symphony we occasionally long for an interval of repose. Moreover, the leading theme of the *allegro* is so square-cut and uninviting, that its re-employment in the *finale*, in the major key and in connexion with another theme from the *allegro*, becomes in the end more or less of a bore.

Of the eight symphonies played before Christmas only one was new to the Crystal Palace audience. This, composed by Mozart in 1786 for the Winter Concerts at Prague\*, is the symphony known to amateurs as the "Symphony in D without a minuet." The first *allegro* is as grandly designed and as elaborate in the working out of its details as any similar orchestral movement by the composer, and the *andante* for sweet and tender melody is unsurpassed. Strange that such a work by one of the masters of masters should now for the first time be introduced to an audience thoroughly familiarized with all the symphonies and overtures of Schumann (not to name other things of more questionable merit). But better late than never. The symphony was admirably played, and must have caused not a few to regret that Mozart receives less consideration at the Crystal Palace than is his fair due. For instance, among nineteen overtures included in the first set of twelve concerts, there was only one by Mozart—that to *Figaro*. There were three overtures by Beethoven—the *Namensfeier*†, *Egmont*, and *Leonora* (the great *Leonora*—No. 3 of the *Fidelio* series); two by Schubert—the *Freunde von Salamanka* and *Rosamunde*; four by Mendelssohn—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Die Hebriden*, the "Trumpet Overture," and *Ruy Blas*; Weber's *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon*; Schumann's *Genoveva*; Cherubini's *Medea*; Rossini's *Sieg de Corinthe*; Adolph Adam's *Giralda*; Herr Reinecke's *König Manfred*; Mr. Arthur Sullivan's "In Memoriam"; and Mr. H. Gadsby's *Golden Legend*. A brief remark about two or three of these is all that is called for—so many of them being old friends. Schumann's *Genoveva*, the orchestral prelude to his only opera, is also one of his best—but, as customary with Schumann, monotonous, gloomy, and overcharged with anticlimax. *Die beiden Freunde von Salamanka* is the overture to an opera by Schubert, composed to a libretto by his friend, Mayrhofer (which is lost). The rest of the music is still in manuscript, hidden away in some dark cellar in Vienna, where it is likely to remain until that amiable enthusiast the Honorary Secretary to the Palestine Fund shall do for it what he did for *Rosamunde* and the symphonies. The overture, fresh and pretty, is one of the master's lightest, and might rank with his two preludes "in the Italian style." Nevertheless, like all that came from his prolific brain (at least all we know of), it contains things too good to be consigned to oblivion. The "Trumpet Overture" of Mendelssohn—a marvel, considering the age at which it was composed (16)‡—admits of hearing again and again; so does the thoughtful and touching "In Memoriam" of our countryman, Mr. Sullivan, the encouragement given to whose music at the Crystal Palace is both advantageous to the concerts, and creditable to Mr. Manns, their director. Schubert's so-called *Rosamunde* (virtually the overture to the three-act operatic melo-drama, *Die Zauberkraft*§, produced at the An der Wien, Vienna, in 1820,—the libretto by Hoffmann), is so genial and bright that it can never be unwelcome. At the same time it will hardly be denied that its composer has

been allowed somewhat more than his just share of the Crystal Palace programmes. Mr. H. Gadsby's *Golden Legend* possesses unquestionable merit, which is more than can be alleged of Adolph Adam's *Giralda*. Besides these overtures, the splendid *Entr'acte* and piquant *air de ballet* from *Rosamunde* (Schubert); some very laboured and meagre dance pieces from that heaviest of heavy operas, M. Gounod's *Reine de Saba*; an *entr'acte*, with ballet-music, from Herr Reinecke's *König Manfred*, and the *adagio* and *scherzo* from Herr Rubinstein's symphony, *Ocean*, were among the orchestral pieces during the first series of twelve concerts. Of the incidental music in *Rosamunde* we have spoken more than once. It is of its composer's very best. Herr Reinecke is dry and pretentious; and the only remarkable feature about his *entr'acte* is that the stringed instruments are *muted*. Take away his *mutes* and the music would say nothing. Mr. Manns, in the analytical programme, devotes a couple of pages to Herr Rubinstein, whom he designates as

from top to toe a son of art of our time, who, driven by an irresistible impulse, works away nobly for a good eighteen hours per day, with his blood at fever heat, and even during the remaining six hours for rest cannot silence that demon of our age, the morbid desire to accomplish, in matters of art, what no one ever did before. As a reproductive artist his powers are truly prodigious, &c.

If this be the case, Herr Rubinstein must be a very extraordinary man—seeing that he can exist without sleep; and the only thing that surprises us, after so glowing a description, is the very small amount of originality to be found in the *adagio* and *scherzo* which thus drove Mr. Manns into rhapsody. "That demon of our age" must have been unpropitious; for certainly the "morbid desire" to do what was never done before is by no means fulfilled in the *Ocean* symphony—which, by the way, we remember hearing some years ago, entire (without being greatly edified), at the Hanover Square Rooms. It may be, as Mr. Manns insists—though with astonishing indiscretion, naming Herr Rubinstein at one and the same time with Beethoven and Mendelssohn—that in his (Herr Rubinstein's) tone-pictures there is "mehr Empfindung als Malerei"; but when the "feeling" expresses nothing we might just as well have a little "painting" (as in Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* and Mendelssohn's *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*).

Three of the four concerts at which the programme comprised no symphony were devoted to choral works. Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, with Mozart's additional accompaniment, Rossini's *Messe Solennelle* (first time), and Mr. Arthur Sullivan's *Prodigal Son* (first time), each took up a day. *Acis* and the *Prodigal Son* were well enough given, although the Crystal Palace chorus is by no means on a par with its orchestra; but the performance of the *Messe Solennelle* was, on the whole, the least satisfactory since its first introduction in England. Mr. Sullivan's *cantata* was received—as it has been received everywhere else, since the Worcester Festival of last autumn (for which it was expressly composed)—with unqualified favour; and we are happy to be able to add that its merits entitle it to general recognition. The appearance of a work, from the pen of an English composer, with such solid claims to consideration, is so rare that it should be hailed with satisfaction by every one who looks hopefully at English art.

Among the interesting features of the performances are concertos, &c., for pianoforte, violin, and other instruments, with orchestral accompaniments. With these the first half of the series under notice was in no way behindhand. Beethoven's fifth, last, and greatest pianoforte concerto, the one in E flat, was played by Mr. Charles Hallé; Weber's pianoforte concerto in the same key by Herr Ernst Pauer; and Mendelssohn's *Rondo Brillante*, again in the same key, by Miss Agnes Zimmermann—the most remarkable achievement of the three being decidedly the last. But, like the violin concerto of Mendelssohn, chosen by M. Sainton, these pieces were already known to the Crystal Palace audience. Not so, however, a concerto in B flat, for violoncello, with orchestral accompaniments, the execution of the solo part in which, by Signor Piatti, was nothing short of perfection, while the work itself was scarcely less creditable to him as a composer than the performance of it was creditable to him as a *virtuoso*. This concerto is not only cleverly and effectively written, but in several passages, and more especially in the second movement—a *largo* in the key of E flat minor—exhibits a strong sense of musical fitness and beauty. Still more interesting was the *Caprice* in E major, for pianoforte and orchestra, one of the most graceful, refined, and original works of the most gifted of English musicians. It says little for our own native pianists, and not a great deal for the foreigners who flourish and thrive among us, that the only one who takes pains to master and bring forward constantly in public the music of Sterndale Bennett is Madame Arabella Goddard; but on the other hand the Cambridge Professor may console himself with the fact that probably no other would play it with such enthusiasm or could play it with such polished refinement as that lady. Such compositions as Professor Bennett's are not to be taken *ad captandum*. They are extremely difficult, and must be assiduously and conscientiously studied. This Madame Goddard invariably does; and hence her success whenever she comes forward with a concerto, or any other piece, from her compatriots.

The second part of the series we reserve for notice on another occasion.

\* Where his *Nozze di Figaro*, which had been almost snubbed in Vienna, was afterwards so well received as to induce the great musician to write *Don Giovanni* expressly for the Bohemians.

† Composed for the NAMEDAY Festivities of Francis II.—a sort of companion to the *Wehe des Hauses*, in the same key (C), but an earlier and inferior work.

‡ It was partially re-written seven years later, when produced, under Mendelssohn's own direction, at the Düsseldorf Festival of 1833.

§ This overture was also played to a one act operetta called variously *Die Verschwornen*, and *Der häusliche Krieg*—in 1823 or 1824.



## ADMIRAL ROUS AND SIR JOSEPH HAWLEY.

ADMIRAL ROUS and Sir Joseph Hawley are having a preliminary encounter before the pitched battle is fought in the Craven week. A discussion between two such men, on a subject which both, from their separate points of view, are competent to handle with ability, cannot fail to be productive of profit. Both possess a long and intimate acquaintance with racing matters; both are ardent lovers of the sport; both are men of the highest honour. Moreover, both start with a frank admission of the same evil. Sir Joseph Hawley declares that racing is being degraded into a trade by the extension of systematic gambling; Admiral Rous avows that he has long foreseen that the evils of heavy betting will destroy the Turf. The leading Liberal and the leading Tory of the Racing Parliament meet on common ground, and unreservedly attribute the misfortunes that have already oppressed the Turf, as well as the additional misfortunes which they anticipate as likely to fall on it, and possibly to overwhelm it, to one and the same cause. Under such circumstances, in the face of such a declaration of united opinion from the heads of the rival parties in the Jockey Club, if no common course of action can be devised to meet a common danger, the Turf must indeed be in a bad way. Unfortunately, here lies the difficulty. Manifest evils may be seen simultaneously by a hundred persons, but, when a remedy is demanded, every one of the hundred has a nostrum of his own to propose. Already Admiral Rous has announced his plan, and Sir Joseph Hawley has announced his, for diminishing the evil which they alike deplore; and the Admiral declares that Sir Joseph's plan is so absurd that no member of the Jockey Club will be found to second it; while Sir Joseph might retort that the Admiral's plan is so utterly preposterous that he will not even venture to propose it. No doubt other members of the Jockey Club have some pet plans of their own all ready in their pockets, but they have not as yet announced them publicly. We may remark, in passing, that Admiral Rous's excuse for the apathy of the Jockey Club with regard to the evils of heavy gambling which he, individually, so much deplors, is a very feeble one. He would make out that the Jockey Club has not taken any steps to check the spread of gambling, because it *cannot*. He would have us believe that, by its rules, the Jockey Club is wholly precluded from taking any cognizance of such a thing as betting, and that therefore, whatever may be the abuses of betting, the Club has no jurisdiction to check them, but must allow them to increase as they will. If this were the case, the claims of the Club to be the supreme tribunal of racing would be disallowed at once by its own admission that it had no power to deal with what always has been and always will be an integral part of racing. But this is not the case. As Sir Joseph Hawley points out, every defaulter in bets who is warned off Newmarket heath—a sentence involving special penalties of the severest kind—is warned off by the Jockey Club, and by the Jockey Club alone. No other tribunal possesses a similar power. The Committee of Tattersall's, to whom the examination of betting disputes is left, have no power to pass the sentence which banishes the defaulter from the society of all respectable men. They make their report to the Jockey Club, whose Executive, the Stewards, pronounce the final sentence. "If this is not taking cognizance of claims with respect to bets," says Sir Joseph Hawley, "I should like to know what is." It is the silliest affectation to deny that a power which is continually exerted against non-payers of bets can be also used in all other questions connected with betting. We fear that Sir Joseph Hawley has strong grounds for the inference which he draws:—

I maintain that whenever any proposal is made to the Club that might really improve the breed of horses, and limit the evils of betting, they stop their ears and cry out, "*Non possumus*," though it is quite a case of "*possumus*" when encouragement is to be given to races the main object of which is gambling, and to enforce the payment of those bets which they profess to ignore.

But to return to the rival plans of the two disputants for the limitation of betting. We take Admiral Rous's first, though it comes second in order of time, because it can be disposed of with extreme brevity. He proposes that any person winning 30,000*l.* on a single race "shall forfeit the same to the informer, to be sued in Her Majesty's Courts." He further announces his intention, if a Committee of the Jockey Club is appointed, of proposing that "if any member of the Jockey Club wins 50,000*l.* on one race, he shall be expelled." It would seem that Admiral Rous, who has been a small better all his life, cannot forgive Sir Joseph Hawley, who has been a heavy better and a large winner, for now coming forward to denounce the evils of heavy betting. He must have written the last part of his proposal with a vivid recollection of Beadsman's Derby, and the 70,000*l.* which Sir Joseph Hawley won on that occasion. We look on it more as a piece of bravado than anything else, as if, being hardly able to comprehend how the very man who has profited so much by heavy betting should be the first to assail the system, he would cap a proposal that strikes him as absurd by one more absurd still. But yet there is just meaning enough in it to show us that Admiral Rous wishes to limit betting for very different reasons from those which actuate Sir Joseph Hawley. The Admiral would legislate for the benefit of a very small circle—for those, namely, actually engaged in the business of racing; Sir Joseph would legislate for the benefit of the public. The Admiral sees with regret that many followers of the Turf have been brought to beggary, that many of his own friends and colleagues have been ruined, that

heavy betting has materially increased, if not actually caused, their embarrassments, and for the sake of the remainder he would like to check that heavy betting in the future. Sir Joseph sees with still more regret that the public at large is becoming rapidly infected with a passion for betting on horse-races, and that unexampled facilities are offered to the poor and needy, to young men in positions of trust, to merchants' clerks and tradesmen's apprentices, to induce them to embark in this hazardous speculation, and to tempt them from the path of duty; and he would take such steps as, if not sufficient wholly to remove this temptation from before them, would at any rate much diminish the chances of their coming in contact with it. The Admiral's heart is evidently wrapped up in the sport, and in the interests of those directly concerned in it; and, absorbed as he is in the active duties of his adopted profession, he fails to perceive how the passion for gambling, which he deplors in his immediate associates, is rapidly extending itself among his countrymen in general. Sir Joseph thinks that racing men are pretty well able to manage their own affairs, but that the public needs protection; and his measures are planned with a view to this end. In this conflict of opinion it is almost needless to say that we side entirely with Sir Joseph Hawley. As we have always admitted that betting must be an accompaniment of horse-racing, as we have always ridiculed the Quixotic dreams of those who imagine to themselves the total suppression of betting, so we cannot concur in any scheme for curtailing the right of those engaged in horse-racing to regulate their investments in their own way, unless the public necessity absolutely requires it. On the other hand, as we have never admitted that betting on horse-races is a necessary part of every Englishman's birthright, as we have always opposed those whose design it is to make such betting a familiar practice in every English home, so we shall always be in favour of any scheme for restraining the torrent of gambling within its proper channel.

With this view of the question we can approach the alternative plan of those at present submitted to public criticism. Sir Joseph Hawley proposes the abolition of all P. P. betting. That is, if a horse was backed for any race, and did not start for that race, the bet would be null and void. For all practical purposes the result of this measure would be that there would be little, if any, betting on any race, however important, till the numbers went up. No long prices would be obtainable weeks beforehand; the business of touts and tipsters would be at a discount; those who were present at the race would get fair, if short, prices, if they wished to bet; and there would be little inducement to absentee speculators to bet at all. Post-betting, in short, would inflict a mortal blow on commission agents, prophets, and other more or less noxious racing parasites. That Sir Joseph Hawley's plan would be an unmixt blessing to the public at large, we have not a doubt; but we are bound to acknowledge that, if adopted in its entirety, it would inflict serious injury on legitimate racing business. Book-making on large races is only possible, as Admiral Rous has pointed out, on condition of the money standing whether the horses laid against start or not; on any other condition prices must fall to an average not much above the average of starting prices, and in such a case all sensible persons would defer their investments till the start. As most owners or breeders of promising yearlings would wish to back them for the Derby at the time of entry, such an investment being very properly considered part of the capital to be laid out in the whole business, any rule tending to frustrate this wish would be a direct interference with the freedom of contract that ought to exist among persons engaged in any particular trade or occupation. Nothing but urgent public necessity would justify any attempt to upset this right of free contract; and the question is whether, in the present case, public necessity requires so sweeping a measure. We are of opinion that an application of Sir Joseph Hawley's plan to the larger handicaps might suffice for the present, coupled with such an alteration as he suggests—namely, that the weights should not be published till a week before the race. The Derby, Leger, and Two Thousand might still remain P. P. races, as a concession to the customs and convenience of racing men—a concession to be withdrawn, however, if the remedies against public gambling proved insufficient. The problem which the Jockey Club has to solve is how to reconcile the right of racing men to make their own rules and by-laws, and to wager as they please, with the protection that must be given to the public. The public can take care of itself, it may be said; the public does not want to be protected. Very likely; a child does not want a guard put up in front of the fire; but we put it up nevertheless. The public, whether it likes or not, must be protected against the consequences of reckless gambling, which are already too evident and demand a speedy remedy. If the Jockey Club can help towards this remedy, we shall have no desire to meddle with the private rules and regulations of racing men, and they may bet and wager, and lose fortunes and make them just as they please. But if it shuts its eyes to a crying public need, then, as Sir Joseph Hawley not obscurely intimates, a rough and ready cure will assuredly be found, after the application of which the Jockey Club may awake to find its occupation gone. And unfortunately, looking at the existing constitution of that august body, we have little faith in its capacity to act with prudence or resolution in the present emergency.



## REVIEWS.

## RAWLINSON'S MANUAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY.\*

NO one who takes up Mr. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History* will deny him the credit of great industry. The student who wishes to know the sources for the history or supposed history of any particular period will find in it ample guidance; and if he wishes further to work his way through the pages of modern writers on the subject, he will not often have to complain that the information given is not so full as it might have been. Nor are the merits of the volume confined within these limits. As in his *History of the Ancient Eastern Monarchies*, so here also his geography is well done; and in this portion of his task he deserves probably a far larger measure of praise than he has generally received.

But when from lists of ancient or modern writers we turn to the narratives which Mr. Rawlinson wishes his readers to accept as history, we are at once made to feel that general remarks on the book as a whole are altogether without value. The periods of which he treats fall into two classes—those for which, if we have a history at all, we have nothing but a traditional narrative; and, secondly, those for which we have the genuine testimony of contemporary writers. If then history is the record of events which have really taken place, if it is concerned not with possibilities or conjectures or ingenious arithmetical arrangements, but with fact, which either we know or do not know, we are at once driven to ask whether this distinction has been borne in mind wherever it was necessary to remember it, and not merely whether it has been recognised in words, and then for all practical purposes ignored. If, with reference to the present volume, this question can be answered affirmatively, the *Manual* is a good one; if not, its value can lie only in the guidance which it furnishes for the student to the works of ancient or modern writers. The matter becomes strictly one of detail, and we cease to care whether the portion to be examined be the history of "Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Lydia, Phœnicia, Syria, Judæa, Egypt, Carthage, Persia, Greece, Macedonia, Rome," or "Parthia." Of this goodly list which graces Mr. Rawlinson's title-page we will only say that the man who could weigh in a just balance all the evidence which we really possess for the history of these countries, and give the results candidly and plainly as in answer to the question, Are all these true facts? would do a work which ought to win for him the gratitude of many generations. Mr. Rawlinson professes to do this; otherwise, we cannot doubt, he would never have dreamt of publishing this book; and therefore our course in dealing with it is perfectly plain.

At the outset we are met by his remarks on the value of inscriptions as furnishing trustworthy historical material. Mr. Rawlinson regards them as "among the most important of ancient records," and holds "that their intrinsic value makes up to a great extent for their comparative scantiness." The student is therefore informed that "the histories of Egypt and Assyria have been in a great measure reconstructed from the inscriptions of the two countries. The great inscription of Behistun has thrown much light upon the early history of Persia. That on the Delphic tripod has illustrated the most glorious period of Greece." On this we have simply to say that Mr. Rawlinson's words would leave on the minds of youthful readers a very different impression from that which they will make on those who have really worked at some two or three portions of the vast field which he traverses. The former would doubtless think that, as Mr. Rawlinson says it is all right, all must be right, and comfort themselves with the thought that the Kings of the first Manethonian or Berossian dynasties are as solid historical personages as the English Tudors or Hanoverian sovereigns. The more advanced student will see that Mr. Rawlinson's sentences are susceptible of two interpretations, and that the reconstruction and illustration of history are really equivocal terms. How then does the Delphian tripod illustrate "the most glorious period of Greece"? Mr. Rawlinson shall speak for himself. Herodotus gives a list of the Hellenic tribes who fought at Plataea. This list looks much as if it had been drawn up to give a share in the closing scenes of the war to States or cities which had exhibited a miserable indecision or cowardice throughout its course. Can we test his statements by the tripod, the pedestal of which still exists with its inscription at Constantinople? Mr. Rawlinson says that on it are inscribed "the names, not only of the Greeks who fought in that battle . . . but of all who lent any effective aid to the Greek side during the war" (Herodotus, vol. iv., p. 328). It would follow that this list is as much an epical representation as the inscription on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, of which Mr. Rawlinson says that the "having borne any part in defeating the barbarian gave a claim for inscription" (Herodotus, vol. iv., p. 408). The reader may be forgiven if he feels a misgiving that unjust claims may have been made by some who were too powerful to be set aside, and just claims neglected when they came from those who had not weight enough to enforce them. Mr. Rawlinson admits that the Lemnians, Crotonians, and Seriphians were excluded from the inscription on the Delphian tripod because they each contributed only a single vessel. Does Mr. Rawlinson believe that they contributed any?

\* *A Manual of Ancient History from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1869.

If he does, on whose authority does he believe it? And if he accepts the fact on the statement of Herodotus, how does he avoid the conclusion that on this point the inscription has deliberately falsified the history? In short, without going further, his own admission establishes the necessity, on which Mr. Grote insisted, of ascertaining whether the inscriber had an adequate knowledge of the facts which he records, and whether or not there may be reason to suspect misrepresentation. In other words, the inscription must be attested by the witness of contemporary historians, even if we put aside the absurdities and impossibilities related or noticed in many of these old inscriptions.

Among the many incidents in the first seventy chapters on the histories of Herodotus "supported by this kind of testimony," Mr. Rawlinson names the escape of Arion on the dolphin's back, the wealth of Midas, and the filial devotion of Kleobis and Biton. Here again we have to ask, what is the support thus given? Is it a support which gives them their proper place in mythology, or a support which converts into history the type not only of the golden ass of Appuleius, but of the donkey which vomited gold on hearing the word Brickbait? We look in vain for any clear statement of the distinction between one class of inscriptions and another, or for any clear admission of the extent to which inscriptions and other memorials are known to have been tampered with or falsified. Mr. Rawlinson is well aware that empty tombs were raised on the battle-field of Plataea to satisfy those who were not present at the fight, and that Herodotus speaks of a false Lacedæmonian inscription as placed on a vessel which he believed to have been the gift of Ctesias. But although Mr. Rawlinson knows this, he nowhere mentions in his *Manual* a fact which it is of the very utmost importance to bear in mind throughout. It is quite clear from what has been already said that these inscriptions are not to be implicitly trusted. How far then are they to be trusted, or are they to be rejected altogether? Let us take the Parian marble of which Mr. Rawlinson says that it gives "a chronological arrangement of important events in Greek history from the accession of Cecrops to the archonship of Callistratus, B.C. 355." Not a word is said to imply that the one event belongs to a different class or kind from the other, and the student may not unnaturally suppose that Kekrops is quite as real a personage as Kallistratus. *Ælian* "illustrates" the reign of Bocchoris with the pleasant story of the lamb which had eight feet and two tails. Does the Parian marble do more for the early history of Athens? Of Kekrops we are simply told that he was half a man and half a snake; that his father Erechtheus, like himself, was half man half dragon; that his daughter was Hersê, the dew; and that Prokris the daughter of Hersê had an interview with Artemis in Krete and received from her a spear with which she was unwittingly slain by Kephalos, the son of Hersê and the husband of Eos, the goddess of the morning. And this is the being of whose accession Mr. Rawlinson speaks as he might speak of the accession of George III., leaving the student to discover that from this notable event 754 years are taken up with the reigns of 16 kings and 13 perpetual archons, and about 150 more with the rule of decennial and annual archons down to the time of Kylon, of the whole of which we know absolutely nothing beyond a few stories as credible as those of *Ælian*'s lamb or Jack the Giant Killer. Of the whole of this enormous period Niebuhr asserts that "we do not know a single fact, if we except the mention of the *ἀγὼς Κεκρόπειον* and the legislation of Draco." Now either this is the case, or it is not; but if it be so, it follows that for about a thousand out of some thirteen hundred years the Parian chronicle is worthless, and worse than worthless, because it gives the semblance of history to a time for which there never was any history at all. An historian is bound to state this, but it is more especially the duty of one who professes to guide the young to a right judgment as to the evidence for facts; for if it be not to this that they are guided, they would be happier themselves, and doing better service to the State, if they were occupied in some honest trade.

The results obtained from Assyrian inscriptions are to outward appearance even more imposing; and they are not less deceptive. Here, too, Mr. Rawlinson's terms are equivocal, and we do not know whether he accepts or rejects the statements which he makes. Thus we are told that under the Chaldean monarchy "the study of astronomy commenced, and observations of the heavenly bodies were made and carefully recorded." This, we presume, Mr. Rawlinson regards as a fact. He adds, "according to Simplicius, these observations reached back a period of 1,903 years, when Alexander entered Babylon" (p. 27). Is this a fact also? The observations were said to be stretched over a period not of two but of thirty-one thousand years, and in his *Eastern Monarchies* he admits that even for the shorter time they may have been "a mere calculation backwards of the dates at which certain celestial phenomena must have taken place." In this case Mr. Rawlinson himself regards these observations as worthless; why does he not tell the student so? But Assyrian history seems to be hallowed ground, not rashly to be trodden by the profane. Pausanias tells us that the huntsman whose game escaped from him into the Temenos of the Lykaian Zeus saw that the animals ceased to cast a shadow after they had leaped the sacred barrier; and they who dig out the records of Assyrian despots may be gifted in like manner with powers of vision not granted to ordinary men. Whatever is to be said of the first and by far the longer part of the second period of Assyrian history, we are at any rate told positively that for the latter portion, "from B.C. 909 to 745, the chronology is exact, and the materials for history are abundant" (p. 28). The



exactness of the chronology means only that there are no gaps; but neither are there any gaps in the chronology of the kings of Rome. But the artificial nature of this chronology has been placed by Niebuhr beyond all possibility of doubt, and therefore Mr. Rawlinson confesses that it is "extremely uncertain," and that "the numbers bear in many points the appearance of artificial manipulation" (p. 350). Surely it is more honest and more manly to say with Niebuhr that it is, throughout, "a forgery and a fiction." Have we any reason for putting more faith in that of the second Assyrian period? Mr. Rawlinson thus begins his dates (i.e. the ascertained part) for the later and, as he implies, the more trustworthy portion of this time:—

Line of Kings.—Asshur-danin-il I.; reign ended B.C. 909. Successor, his son, Hu-likh-khus III. (Iva lush); reigned B.C. 909 to 889. Successor, his son Tiglath-Nin II.; reigned from B.C. 889 to 836. Warred in Niphates. Asshur-idanni-pal I. (Sardanapalus), his son, succeeded. A great conqueror.

Now, by Mr. Rawlinson's own admission in his larger history, even this information, scanty as it is, is not all obtained from the monuments. There is no separate record of the second Tiglath-Nin, and the only reason for inserting his name at this point is that Asshur-idanni-pal speaks of certain carved works as set up by his ancestors Tiglathpileser and Tiglath-Nin. But as we must suppose that Asshur-idanni-pal would measure his statements accurately, and as a Tiglath-Nin is said to have gone before Tiglathpileser, we cannot suppose that this was the Tiglath-Nin of whom Asshur-idanni-pal was speaking. Hence a Tiglath-Nin must be placed after him, and be styled the Second. In short, this doughty monarch is the creation of the Camden Professor, and this is what, we presume, is meant by the reconstruction of Assyrian history. But not only may these kings be brought into existence by the wand of the magician. Their names may be changed—can it be at his will? Certainly it was a meagre bill of fare for the annals of a reign when we were told that of a certain King Gunguna we knew nothing but his name, and that there were grave doubts whether it should not be Gurguna; but it seems now that our old friends whom we supposed in the *Eastern Monarchies* to be permanently Iva-lush, appear as Hu-likh-khus. Shamas-iva also, it seems, is now Samsi-lu. Is it possible then they may both reappear hereafter under the more familiar forms of Houlakon and Genghis, and give birth to speculations not less edifying than those by which Mr. Rawlinson proves the extinction of the Chaldean Empire, after a violent resistance, by Arab invaders?

Mr. Rawlinson's method is the same throughout. The history of the two decemvirates at Rome is given in less than two pages. If we choose to forget that the narratives of all the writers who treat of this time are full of contradictions from beginning to end, his account, though dry, is not impossible. Of the Greek origin assigned to these laws he says not a word; of any difficulties connected with the episode of Virginia or other parts of the tale he gives not a hint. The tyranny of the second set of decemvirs was, he admits, against the plebeians, and the laws of the last two tables were intended to press especially upon them. Yet these laws are passed or retained when the decemvirs are overthrown, and Mr. Rawlinson serenely tells us that the wrongs of Virginia produced a rising of the Plebs, as those of Lucretia had provoked the resistance of the Patricians. This is to make the story of the Trojan war credible by treating it after the fashion of Herodotus or Thucydides, Dion Chrysostom or Stesichoros. But it is the duty of a guide to warn the young if and wherever the ground on which he treads is unsound, and Mr. Rawlinson has not done this. If his readers regard as history those parts of the *Manual* for which he has not the evidence of genuine contemporary writers, they would be more profitably employed in reading novels.

#### CREOLE GRAMMAR.\*

MOST readers of Professor Max Müller's Lectures will remember the passage in which he spoke of the words "Yez" and "Yesm," in the mouth of a negro. They will remember how the letter *m*, for instance, was the last vestige of the address "mea domina," and all that "mea domina" implies; how, if English existed only in its negro form, a future philologist might be amazed at the caprice of language by which an affirmative particle was made to change its ending according to the sex of the person spoken to. We have before us a grammar, very full and very clear, and which looks as if it were very accurate, of a form of French analogous to the form of English of which Professor Müller was speaking. This is the Creole language of Trinidad. We could wish that Mr. Thomas had told us a little more about the history of this curious form of speech. Writing in Trinidad, and mainly, it would seem, with practical objects, he assumes a knowledge of a great many things which we do not know but which we should like to know. Who are the people who speak the language? The word Creole is in England most commonly used to express a mulatto; but we believe that its strict meaning is a native of a colony, of European race, as opposed to an immigrant. But we gather from Mr. Thomas's book that the language of which he speaks is wholly or mainly spoken by negroes. And again we should like to know how it comes that the basis of the Creole speech should be French in an

island which certainly was for a short time a French possession, but where the period of Spanish dominion was very much longer. A few Spanish words have crept in, as a few English words have also; but the dialect is essentially French. Mr. Thomas writes in so thoroughly intelligent a way that we are sure that he could have told us all about it. Perhaps he did not reckon on his little book crossing the Ocean.

The philological value of a grammar of this kind is that it shows us that the very same processes by which the most polished tongues of modern Europe were formed are actually going on, and forming yet again new languages out of the same elements. The Romance of Trinidad is something more than French mispronounced. It is open to any one to call it "bad French," but it must only be in the sense in which French may be called bad Latin. The difference between Creole and French is not so wide as the difference between French and Latin, but it is a difference of exactly the same kind. Each is primarily a corruption; each has grown out of the attempts of men to speak a language which they could not speak accurately. But as Virgil's bees were born from the carcass of the bullock, as Johnson spoke of an author who was engendered by the corruption of a bookseller, so, both in the formation of French out of Latin and in the formation of Creole out of French, the process has not been a process of pure destruction. In each case the old form has been broken to pieces, but in each case a new principle of life also sprang up to produce new forms. In Creole, just as in French, the inflexions of the older speech are wiped out, letters are dropped in pronunciation, two or more words are mashed up as it were into one. But, with all this, we find something very like new inflexions; we find new forms of syntax, and actually new words, formed not at random, but according to a regular analogy. In short, in this dialect all the changes which we trace out historically in the comparative study of other languages are actually going on. As Mr. Thomas says, "the Creole, considered in its relation to correct French, exhibits the whole derivative process in actual operation, and not in fixed results, as is the case in older and more settled dialects." We gather moreover that, while these changes are going on wherever negroes have tried to speak French, the results differ in different islands. Mr. Thomas speaks of the Creoles of Trinidad as having a difficulty in understanding either pure French or the Creole dialect of Guadaloupe or Martinique. That is to say, several distinct dialects are springing up out of French, just as French, Provençal, Spanish, Italian, Romansch, and Wallach sprang out of Latin. And we gather that the differences are fast reaching, if they have not reached, the stage at which we may fairly speak of new languages. An ordinary knowledge of French certainly does not make the Creole of Trinidad easy to understand, even when printed, unless we look to the translation. The meaning may be hammered out with some pains, as a man who knows one or two of any group of kindred languages can with some pains hammer out the general meaning of a sentence in any other language of the group. But it is not understood at once. And from what Mr. Thomas says, it appears, as we have already hinted, that those who speak pure French are not readily intelligible to the speakers of Creole, and that the clergy who labour among them are beginning to find it needful to make some use of the language as actually spoken.

The mere changes in letters in the formation of the Creole dialect are perhaps the least important part of the changes from French to Creole. But then exactly the same may be said of the change from Latin to French. But one or two of them should be noticed, one especially in which a change which has largely affected both Romance and Teutonic tongues is carried further in Creole than it is in its parent. The hard sound of *c* or *k* has been to a great extent changed in the Romance languages for softer substitutes, and the use of *k* or *ch*, of *sk* or of *sh*, is one of the signs by which Danish or Anglian names in England are distinguished from the Saxon of the south. In Creole this tendency is further carried out by substituting *ch* (with its English or Spanish sound) for *c* or *g* before *u*. Thus *culotte* becomes *chilotte*, *quinze* is *chinzé*, *marguer* is *mácher*.

The indefinite article *un*, *une*, takes in Creole the form of *yon*, without distinction of gender. The definite article is placed after the noun, as in Danish, and takes the form of *la*, which Mr. Thomas holds to be not the French article *le*, *la*, but the adverb *là*, as in *cet homme-là*. But many nouns have swallowed up the French article definite and indefinite in various ways. Thus we have *divin* for wine (*du vin*), *lapôte* (*la porte*) for door, *mounouque* uncle, *nonnme*, man, and a whole tribe of words beginning with *z*, *zanneau*, *zébe*, *zoreie*, for *des anneaux*, *des herbes*, *des oreilles*. So the phrase *vous autres* has made *zôtes* become the ordinary Creole form for *vous*. So in the common phrases *bon Dieu*, *beau temps*, and the like, the adjective has lost its meaning, and has become part of the noun; so that a wooden god may be called "yon bondié bois." The swallowing up of articles and suchlike words is found in other languages, as in the many Spanish words, *alcalde* and the like, which have incorporated the Arabic article, as in French *lierre* for *illa hedera*, and in English, *Nuncle*, *Ned*, *Nan*, *Nyland*, *Nangle* (in *angulo*), *necet*, and perhaps *nag*—in all which the *n* belongs, not to the noun, but to some article, preposition, or possessive pronoun, which it has swallowed up. When we say "an ugly newt," our idiom is not much more consistent than when the Creoles say "yon lapôte" for *une porte*.

The declension of nouns is curious enough. The genitive is formed by simply putting the word in regimen after the other noun, as *caïe* [case, casa] *Jean*, *chapeau papa tit fie la*. "The girl's

\* *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*. By J. J. Thomas. Port-of-Spain: The Chronicle Publishing Office. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.



father's hat." This is a perfectly good old French idiom. But the Creoles have made a dative for themselves in a way which carries us up to the earliest days of the formation of inflected language:—

Besides the above, we have in Creole a sort of Dative Case, denoting the individual to, for, or with regard to whom any thing is done. The sign of this case is *ba* or *bai*, a shortening of the O.F. verb *bailler*, to give; e.g.: *li pôter tounents bai famie'i*, he brought trouble to his relations; *li ca chater corps-li bai dents rie*; lit. he is conveying himself give teeth to laugh; i.e. he is exposing himself to ridicule.

The two forms *ba* and *bai*, though identical in meaning, are not indiscriminately used. *Ba* comes only before the Personal Pronouns, except *zôtes*, which prefers *bai*; e.g.: *ba moën*; *bai li*; *ba yeux*. In all other cases *bai* must be used; e.g.: *bai youn madame*; *bai four moën*; *bai ces mounes la*; *li ciër fair gouës sauts bai zôtes*, he will be defiant towards you.

There is also a remarkable delicacy in the inflexion or non-inflexion of adjectives. There is a good deal of irregularity on some points. Sometimes the French masculine and sometimes the French feminine is taken as the Creole form of the adjective; while, when human beings are spoken of, both are commonly retained. On one point we must quote Mr. Thomas:—

As to those that qualify nouns denoting animals and inanimate objects, their forms depend on whether the nouns have been adopted from the French by themselves, or so closely combined with the adjectives as to convey a single, though composite idea. In the former case, the adjective will have the form current in Creole: in the latter, it will have the form required by French usage. For example, *yon grand tâte*, *plume nêf*, are the Creole equivalents of the French *une grande table*, *plume neuve*, a large table, new pen. The masculine forms *grand* and *nêf* are employed in the Creole, because they are the forms current in the dialect. But in *tâte ouônne*, *round table*, *ouônne* (i.e. *ronde*), the appropriate feminine adjective is used, because it happens to be the form always employed in this particular connexion. Thus it is with all similar compounds borrowed bodily from the French, and regarded in fact as a single word. In *chandelle ouômaine*, *toie grise*, *grande messe*, *gouôse picee*, for example, the adjectives *ouômaine*, *grise*, *grande*, *gouôse*, are feminine, in agreement with the nouns combined with them, according to French practice; and it is so because each of these combinations conveys but a single idea; being, in fact, a mere appellation, like the English *broad-cloth*, *hasty-pudding*, *sweet-meats*, &c.

We wish Mr. Thomas had given us the Creole form of *bête noire*, where it has been almost an established usage in English to couple the masculine adjective with the feminine noun.

Here too is a curious fate for a pronoun:—

*Tu*, the second singular of the French Personals, has had, in the Trinidadian dialect, a singular fate. After diligent search, we discovered it at the tail of two words; the one an *adverb*, and the other an *interrogative particle*, itself perverted and bereft of half its primeval force. The *adverb* in question is *ôti* (where), and the particle, *pêti* (can?). Were it not for the fulness of our conviction on the point, we should have hesitated to give the question *où es-tu?* where art thou, as the etymology of *ôti*, where. But, after all, there are stranger things in the Science of Language; and, upon reflection, we are disposed to retract the apology introducing a derivation which is, on the whole, so obvious.

*Corps*, body, has a particular use which is worth noting. *Même* emphatic after a pronoun, *moi-même*, &c., is retained in Creole, with the useful changes in the pronoun itself, *moën-même*, *nous même*, *ous même* (second person singular), *zôtes même* (second person plural). But when the *même* or other word is reflexive, Creole usage puts *corps* before the pronoun. "Je parlais à moi-même" becomes *Moën té ca pâler bai corps-moën*. "Vous ne vous connaissez pas" is *Zôtes pas connaît corps-zôtes*, where we may mark the final victory of *pas*, *point*, and their fellows, driving the real negative out of the field. As for *corps*, we are quite charmed with the word *vicorps*, an old body, which is ten times as expressive as *vieillard*.

The Creole verbs set before us much that is very instructive. This new form of Romance has made out for itself a whole set of new auxiliary verbs. The Future is expressed, as it often is in French, by the verb *aller*, but only in a special form. Thus, *nous lui dirons cela* becomes *nous ca'ller die li ça*. We shall now be asked the meaning of the *c'* before *aller*. It is itself an auxiliary verb, the origin of which Mr. Thomas does not profess to account for; *ca* before the infinitive, or the form chosen to act as infinitive, forms the present indicative "most usually with a progressive import. Thus *yeux ca dèjnen for ils dèjnenent*." To express the imperfect, *te*, a contraction of *était*, is put before the *ca*. The conditional, should or would, is expressed by *sé*, a contraction of *serait*; may by *pé* contracted from *peut*, and can by *sa* from *savoir*. As Mr. Thomas says, "Like the English 'can,' *savoir* and its Creole corruption, *sa*, properly denote ability resulting from knowledge, e.g. *moën sa danser*." This is just *can*, *können*, *kennen*, and the rest. In fact the whole system of auxiliaries is exceedingly elaborate, and it is formed in a way quite analogous to the formation of auxiliaries in earlier languages.

As for Syntax, we will only mention one thing—namely, the rule as to the position of the verb and the personal pronoun. The accusative always follows the verb, a fact on which Mr. Thomas makes an acute comment:—

Bearing in mind the relation in which the first connectors of the Creole stood towards those who supplied them with the vocabulary and general framework of their dialect, we should perceive that the difference of arrangement existing between the French and Creole pronominal accusative, though striking at first sight, is nevertheless, as respects the Creole, a servile following of, rather than a departure from, French usage. Between two classes of men so different in nationality, race, position, no conversation strictly such was possible. From the ruling class the subject people received only commands—and having a language to frame for themselves, they fashioned it according to the model most frequently presented to them. "Prenez-le," "coupez-le," "arrangez-le," exemplify the kind of construction likeliest to strike the hearing of the Negroes; and it is no wonder that, with no teacher to guide and explain, they should believe this construction to be universal, while, in fact, it was only common.

We should like to know more of Mr. Thomas, and of the language of which he writes. We do not feel certain from his way of writing whether he is himself a student of comparative philology or not. There are expressions which might be taken either way. If he is not, the acuteness of observation which he shows throughout is the more creditable. It would be very interesting to go through Mr. Thomas's Grammar, with a book like that of M. Ampère in hand, and, starting from the Latin, minutely to compare the processes of formation of the child and of the grandchild. But we suspect, that thoroughly to get to the bottom of the subject, it would be needful to know the original tongue of the negroes, so as to judge how the new form of Romance may have been influenced by the usages of negro speech, just as the formation of the elder forms of Romance was influenced by the usages of Celtic and Teutonic speech. But who among our philologists could undertake a task which would carry him so far beyond the ordinary range of Aryan, Semitic, and even Turanian scholarship? At any rate we are much obliged to Mr. Thomas for opening to us a new and remarkable page in the history of language.

#### MEMOIR OF SIR CHARLES EASTLAKE.\*

IN the annals of the English school of painting, and more especially in the history of certain art developments which in our times have assumed national importance, the life of Sir Charles Eastlake holds a position by no means insignificant. In many ways indeed the loss of a man of varied accomplishments, of singular tact and taste and of unswerving integrity, has been felt and will continue to be felt, not in art circles only, but in departments of the State. The judicious Memoir before us, compiled by Lady Eastlake, carries us back to the youthful years of the earnest student who won a confidence which in the end made him President of the Royal Academy, Director of the National Gallery, and Secretary to the Royal Commission of the Fine Arts. Those who only knew the President in the calm and balance of mature life may scarcely be able to picture the ardour and adventure of the youth. A scholar in the Plympton Grammar School resolves to become an historic painter, and, what is more, he determines "to be great or perish in the attempt." We find him a pupil of Haydon, he is introduced to Fuseli, he becomes a student in Sir Charles Bell's School of Anatomy, and all the while he reads the classics and is engaged in that careful mental culture which grew into a leading characteristic of the man. The young student, though moved by ambition, was far from rash or hasty; his plans were laid with cool calculation; each detail in his life-scheme was a part of a greater whole, which fitted together so nicely that mischance seldom thwarted his course. It is true that on his travels he was in danger of shipwreck on the coast of Italy; he ran, too, the risk of the plague in Athens; but yet what he projected he performed; the temper of his mind was placid, the tenor of his way even.

The child was father to the man. In this Memoir we have the indications and component parts of a character which may be accepted as a tolerably complete realization or compendium of the art mind and the æsthetic idea. Sir Charles Eastlake had not the strength and originality which in Fuseli and Haydon broke into wild spasmodic action or creation; his mind was framed with the proportion and symmetry which found response in Greek art; his talents came into play as so many federal powers entitled to equal audience, which, though separately not organized for command, had collective strength to make their decisions respected. It is the privilege of minds thus constituted to be widely representative and wisely catholic. No sooner indeed had the future President crossed the Channel than he gave signs of an omnivorous appetite for art, and whatever could be imbibed was carefully assimilated. Thus, on entering the Louvre, then enriched by the spoils of Napoleon's conquests, he writes, "I could sit down with pleasure to copy almost any picture here from Teniers to the Transfiguration." And if we mistake not, this toleration of all schools, even the most hostile, was akin to a habit of intellectual accommodation which made it possible for him to mix with men of every shade of opinion. Among his friends and acquaintance he could number the most distinguished characters of the century. He studied, as we have seen, under Haydon and Sir Charles Bell; he entered Rome in 1816 on foot with Bunsen; two years later Charles Barry was his companion in Greece; and on his return to Italy were found Lord Spencer, Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Moore the poet, Rogers, Turner, Chantrey, Jackson, the Miss Berrys, Cockerell the architect, Canova, Thorwaldsen. Gibson had not yet joined the company. The Devonshire painter was in his element, and yet he speaks less of the intellect around him than of the loveliness of nature, intensified by associations of history and of art. His mind evidently, as some of his more successful pictures indicate, was delicately attuned to the rhythmical beauty of the South; in common with others we have known his art faculties find exquisite delight in the colour of sea and sky and hill, in the dazzling lustre of the sun, in the inspiring presence of an art not crudely obtrusive but toned down by a thousand years and taken back to nature, the ruin mantled by the vine and shadowed by the cypress. Sir Charles Eastlake was gifted with a sense of the poetry of nature; his eye perhaps did not fire into frenzy, for it

\* Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts. Second Series. By Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, F.R.S. D.C.L., &c. With a Memoir compiled by Lady Eastlake. London: John Murray. 1870.



was sobered down to the scale of a Poussin picture; the visual sense was as it were placed by a cool, clear intellect to keep sentinel watch on the outer world. And when we turn to the pictures painted about this time, such as "Pilgrims in sight of Rome" and "Byron's Dream," we give the painter credit for ardour and aspiration. Such works—like Turner's Ancient and Modern Italy, and like certain of the musical compositions of Mendelssohn—may be taken as the expression of cherished ideas of beauty, memories of sunny days and happy times in lands of the South, which seldom fail to kindle into fire latent sparks of genius. That the English painter was not unmoved by his surroundings the following extract from a letter may prove:—

February 1847. This spring is said to be particularly fine—a Roman Spring! You can conceive nothing too delightful for it. The sun and the Fine Arts are the sources of most of the impressions one receives. I have no longer any doubt about the effect of climate; and everything one sees in the streets—even the handbills—have something to do with art. By night too, suppose me now on the Trinità de' Monti, on my way home from the Academy. There is the city sleeping below, with its domes and columns; and, that nothing may be wanting in the picture, a single pine or cypress tree is seen among the architecture; higher on the right, is the Villa Medici, like a fairy palace, surrounded with evergreen oaks, through which a fountain sparkles—nothing is heard beside its murmurs but a flute or a guitar, and overhead is the moon without a cloud. And who does one know in this fairy city? Who are to me its inhabitants?—the learned, the tasteful, the polite and the beautiful. Ought I not to be happy? These [adds Lady Eastlake] were the bright impressions at twenty-three years of age, which as regards the outer world of Italy never were off.

These pages give unlooked-for prominence to Sir Charles Eastlake as a painter. Concerning the public labours by which he became better known to the present generation, and which exerted a wide and salutary influence upon the arts of his country, the Memoir, probably from personal considerations, is somewhat curt. Many are the persons still living who might add to these scanty chapters interesting data. Sir Charles, as Secretary to the Commission on the Fine Arts, of which the Prince Consort was the guiding spirit, prepared a series of Reports with treatises appended thereto, which, having served the immediate purpose for which they were written, now take a permanent place in the art literature of the century. In the retrospect of this Commission, which hoped to train the English school to the practice of noble historic art, as well as in remembrance of the steps taken to gain for the National Gallery a secure historic basis in the possession of works by the early Italian masters, we are struck with the happy chance which placed Sir Charles Eastlake at the side of the Prince Consort. The student prince of Germany and the student painter of England were akin in cast of mind, and perhaps it will never be known how much the one was indebted to the other. Sir Charles, it is evident, took kindly to the German curriculum; the system in itself was no new creation, no striking stroke of genius; already cut and dry in Germany, it was imported like many other serviceable commodities across the seas, and when it reached our shores only required adaptation to English use. England was indeed far behind other countries in the critical knowledge and the practical application of the arts, and it is difficult to over-estimate the advantage of the important movements which Sir Charles Eastlake guided with a taste and a judgment peculiar to himself. We do not forget that much which was undertaken in the Houses of Parliament has ended in disappointment and disaster. But the ideas promulgated and the impulse given are still working for good. The general scheme for the amelioration of native arts naturally comprised important additions to the National Gallery. And how little even the so-called leaders of the people were prepared for the measures taken in accordance with the new idea that painting, in common with the other arts, can be studied best as an historic growth and a chronologic sequence, was soon unhappily proved by savage and ignorant onslaughts made in the House of Commons upon the management of the National Gallery. It is true that Sir Charles Eastlake, conscientious to the uttermost in the performance of every public duty to which he set his hand, had nothing to fear; the Gallery itself was more likely to suffer, and that through a timidity which might shrink from the bold purchase of pictures which possibly would provoke renewed onslaught. But 165 works were notwithstanding added to the Gallery under this wise directorate, though we regret to know that pictures worth the acquisition of the nation fell into private hands. Yet it will readily be admitted that the wisely devised plan for the reorganization of the National Gallery was carried out with singular discretion, perseverance, and knowledge. The Gallery, notwithstanding gaps in the history of art still to be filled in, is perhaps the best-balanced and the most widely representative in the world.

We should gladly have learnt more concerning the years when Sir Charles Eastlake presided over the Royal Academy, but doubtless there has been felt a delicacy in speaking out. Nothing is stated as to the four days' evidence given by the President before the Royal Commission on the Academy. And to persons conversant with that inquiry, and with the questions agitated of late years as to the Academy Exhibition, the education of the artist, and the general diffusion of art throughout the country, this modest Memoir will scarcely seem to speak half the truth. By many it must have been felt that the President did much to sustain the Academy in difficult times by conciliatory bearing, by scholarly knowledge, and by aims which reached beyond the present into a future resting on the sure experience of the past. The annual Academy dinner then was for the honour of the Arts, not as now for the glory of the Army, the Navy, and the Volunteers. In those years it could not be said that the only

speaker who cared to take a serious view of art was a bishop or an archbishop. Under the Presidency of Sir Charles Eastlake it usually happened—scarcely perhaps any one knew precisely how, save that like begets like—that a mental tone elevated by reflections which the surrounding works might be likely to inspire was maintained at the art banquet of the season. Often were the hearers struck with the felicitous way in which the Chairman managed to float round the room profound criticism, mingled with gentle strictures which might serve to correct some error which was creeping upon the English school. We recall the enunciation of principles which were not for the occasion only, but for all time.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the critical faculty was stronger in Sir Charles Eastlake than the creative. Even from the first moment when the young student entered the Galleries of Europe, the reader cannot but be struck with the clear insight shown into the characteristics of national schools. Thus, at the age of twenty-five, he ends a discriminative description of "the Peter Martyr" with the remark that the whole composition seems to have "connexion with grand music, or rather with the sound of the trumpet." The thoughtful painter, in editing Kugler's Handbook, introduced the English public to that subjective or inward mode of criticism which, as it were, penetrates beneath the outward surface of a work down to the underlying motive or idea. In the present *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts* we find the following characteristic sentence:—"If the student seeks to be what he is not, to adopt the thoughts, the predilections, and the practice of others, without sometimes retiring into himself and communing with his own heart, his works will either be without character, or may be contaminated by affectation." The painter-critic had himself acquired the habit of mental introspection, and his inward thoughts obtained quiet, simple utterance in the garb of sincere conviction. In looking out upon the world he seems to have taken his station at a central point, to have occupied a neutral territory, and so his survey was many-sided, and the ultimate conclusions arrived at, being removed from the bias of a partisan, had often the weight and authority of an umpire.

#### LA VIE ARABE.\*

GENERAL EUGÈNE DAUMAS can boast peculiar qualifications for penetrating and depicting the characteristics of Arab life and Mussulman society. A soldier of distinction under Marshal Clausel as early as the year 1835, he rose during the sharp and decisive struggles which established French ascendancy in Algeria to the post of Director of Native Affairs under Lamoricière, having for two years acted as Consul at Mascara, and had the chief hand in organizing the Arab bureaux. On the capture of Abd-el-Kader Colonel Daumas was entrusted with the custody of the Emir at Fort Lamalgue. In 1849 he led, as general, an expedition against the revolted tribes. In 1850 he was made Director of Algerian Affairs at the Ministry of War at home, and was raised to the Senate August 12, 1857. His acquaintance with the Arab tongues is not inferior to that of a native. A lover of the free life of the mountain and the desert he has thrown himself heart and soul into the life of the wild tribes of the Tell and the Sahara, has eaten their salt and listened to their legends, their songs, and their confidential beliefs. His work on the horses of the Sahara and the manners of the desert has reached a fourth and enlarged edition, enriched, like the volume now before us, with notes and additions by no less august or authoritative a hand than that of Abd-el-Kader himself; while *Le Grand Désert*, with M. Arsène de Chancel for collaborateur, has gone through six editions, and has been translated into Spanish and German. The facts and illustrations he now has to announce have not been drawn, the General assures us, from other books, but have been picked up by himself bit by bit from the book of real life, under his horse's feet during his long African sojourn, under the soldier's tent and under the Arab *gourbi*, one day seated on the poor man's mat, the next upon the rich man's carpet. "Je pourrais presque dire," he concludes with saying of his book, "qu'il a été fait en collaboration avec le peuple arabe tout entier." As such he presents it to the army, as well as to the use of officials, travellers, merchants, and all classes of Europeans called into contact with the native races. A more intimate knowledge and appreciation of the religion, the social code, the ancestral customs, and general life of their Arab fellow-subjects may tend, he hopes, to engender greater respect and consideration for those hardly used dependents. It may mitigate the coarseness, the contempt, and the bullying propensities with which keen French traders and rude military "colons" emulate the ignorant brutishness of some of our raw ensigns and cockney planters in dealing with the "niggers" of our Eastern dependencies.

Prefixed to General Daumas's disquisition are some excellent practical remarks on the Arabic tongue, its idiom and pronunciation, with rules for surmounting the principal difficulties which lie in the way of finding equivalents to Semitic sounds within the range of French or other European organs of speech. A further adaptation will of course be necessary for the use of English students. The main obstacle, however, to correct and uniform understanding of the language would beyond doubt be obviated were but the phonetic principle here strictly laid down made the basis of

\* *La Vie arabe et la Société musulmane.* Par le général E. Daumas. Paris: Michel Lévy frères. 1869.



representation. Were Arabic spelt throughout, not as it is written, but as it is spoken, nine-tenths of the misapprehension and confusion that now exist would be done away. For the concomitant gestures which, as in Chinese, vary and intensify the gamut of uttered sounds, little can be effected by written rules. A quick eye and an aptitude for mimicry, together with patient observation, will be found indispensable here. One comfort for the learner will be that the oft-pressed distinction between what is termed the learned and the vulgar tongue is a mere fiction of European growth. It has no foundation in native usage. *Indocti doctique*, all Arabs, from east to west, from the time of the Kalifs to the present, speak one and the same mother tongue. General Daumas's own experience is here borne out by the authority of M. Bresnier, Professor of Arabic at the Normal College of Algiers, and that of Baron de Slane, of the Institute, holding the Arabic chair at the School of Oriental Languages. It is simply a convenient way of slipping out of a difficulty, when failing to make one's self understood by a native, to say "The idiot does not know scientific Arabic." A good story of this is told by our author concerning a quondam bumptious acquaintance of his own:—

Quand en 1838 j'étais capitaine au 2d chasseurs d'Afrique et consul de France à Mascara, un personnage, qui se croyait très-fort en Arabe, vint m'y demander l'hospitalité. Admis quelques jours après en présence d'Aabd-el-Kader, de qui il avait sollicité une audience, et introduit dans la salle du commandement où l'attendait l'émir, entouré d'une douzaine de chefs à barbe blanche, d'un aspect vraiment imposant, il lui débita un discours qu'il avait préparé avec soin, étudié, appris par cœur, et même écrit pour en être plus sûr. L'émir l'écouta patiemment, puis, se tournant vers moi, il m'adressa ces paroles:—

— Daumas, qu'est-ce qu'a dit le chrétien?

(*Za Daumas, ach gal erroumi?*)

Mon hôte parut alors vivement contrarié, et lorsqu'il se retira, on l'entendit plusieurs fois répéter avec animation:

— Mais, si Aabd-el-Kader ne m'a pas compris, c'est qu'il ne sait pas l'arabe savant!

In his opening chapter General Daumas revives a number of rude popular traditions touching the religious and social state of the Arab race prior to the advent of Mohammed, *Rassoul Allah*, "the sent of God." Many curious legends and details of early superstition live in the memory of the people for which we may search in vain the Koran or other accredited organs of Eastern history. Without professing the character of a scientific historian or critic, the author has faithfully put on record what tales and impressions he found generally current. It is too late for us to expect by the light of mere oral tradition to see far into the abyss of darkness which veils the primitive polytheism, idolatry, or fetishism of what we might almost call the prehistoric races of North Africa. General Daumas has set himself the task of estimating as far as possible the influences of Berber, Kabyle, or other aboriginal blood, in comparison with those of the purely Arab stock immigrating by successive waves, from the eighth century downwards, from aboriginal Asiatic seats. The oldest traditions which he seems to have picked up in their floating state carry us back to the times and country of Abraham and Ishmael, but we are enabled to note not a few particulars in which they go beyond or supplement the orthodox or accredited organs of Islam. There are many singular turns of the popular myths of which we have no recollection in works of the critical research and fulness of M. Caussin Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islam*, or Mr. Muir's able *Life of Mahomet*. In some places, however, our author has certainly missed many details which the careful studies of these writers have made to rest upon a really historic foundation. He has followed the vulgar tradition of the springing up of the miraculous fountain Zam Zam, near Mecca, then in the heart of an arid desert, for the relief of Ishmael and Hagar. But he speaks as if its flow had been perennial from that mythic period to the present time, passing over the historic fact that the spring had for ages been unknown till the time of its rediscovery, together with its venerable masonry, by Shéba or Abd al Muttalib, the prophet's grandfather, in the middle of the sixth century. This important fact has been sufficiently made good by Mr. Muir on the authority of trustworthy Arab writers. A further point we miss in General Daumas is the curious tale, which appears equally authentic, of the casting lots, by means of arrows, for the possession of the Kaaba, ending in the cession by the rest of the Koreish of the sacred house, together with the black stone, the well Zam Zam, and the golden gazelles, to Abd al Muttalib and his representatives. The flow of the holy well has since been constant and plentiful, and no hadji returns home without a flask or skin full of it. A full report of its present state will be found in the pages of Captain Burton, who agrees with Burckhardt and other travellers in pronouncing its taste brackish and disagreeable.

The famous legend of the black stone itself appears also in General Daumas's pages in a form somewhat varied from that made familiar to us by the Koran and most of our received sources of knowledge. Instead of being white, the stone was originally a ruby, *Yakoute*, until it was turned black by the sins of man. "It has eyes and a tongue, it sees and hears, and in the day of the last judgment it will bear witness on behalf of those who have kissed it, and against those who have set it at naught." According to some traditions, the Kaaba existed a thousand years before the first man. Angels and devils went alike to worship it, and when Adam was turned out of Paradise it was before the Kaaba that he stayed his steps. Singular versions of the early history of man and his primitive worship have floated down the tide of events and tradition. A common Arab belief is that Adam had three sons—Yakoute, Yaouk, and Nesrane—who were

pious, and worshipped the one true God. One of the brothers died, and the other two were mourning for him. The devil, seeing their grief, came to them and persuaded them to set up the image of the brother they had lost. They obeyed. A second brother died, and his effigy of brass and lead was placed by the side of the first. The example was imitated, and the devil having thus turned away men's thoughts from the worship of God, mankind were given over to worship idols of their own making. This cultus of their ancestors went on till Sid-na-Nohheu, "our father Noah," tried in vain to deter men from it. The Deluge came, and swept away the idols, but the devil taught the new race to replace them. Another version traces the origin of idolatry to the mere love which mankind at large bore to Yakoute, Yaouk, Nesrane, Ouddennu, and Souaane, great and faithful souls who lived between Adam and Noah. Urged by the devil, and moved by the desire to perpetuate the precepts of these benefactors, men raised their effigies, which an ignorant generation, forgetting their origin, changed into objects of worship. There is a novelty worthy of attention in the symbolism connected with these heroic ancestors in General Daumas's version, savouring as it does far more of the Christian imagery of the Apocalypse than of the Mussulman's abomination of figuring all living forms. Yakoute was represented in stone as a lion, Yaouk as a mare, Nesrane as an eagle, Ouddennu as a man, Souaane as a woman. Whatever may be thought anomalous in this modern form of myth connects itself instinctively in our minds with that peculiar feature in the early fetishism of the Arab race which was marked by the worship of stones. Whether following upon, or itself followed by, Sabaism or sun-worship, the veneration of stones meets us very early and very widely on Eastern soil. We may pass by the trite instances and allusions in the Old Testament. It was from the East that the black stone, an aerolite it has been thought probable, known under the name of Cybele, came into Greece. Stone-worship is heard of in classic story, in ancient Lydia and Phœnicia. Herodotus, it will be remembered, though he does not expressly refer to the Kaaba, speaks generally of the worship of stones by the Arabians, and mentions by name the chief Arab divinity Alilat, which Mr. Muir considers strong evidence of the cultus at that early period of the Meccan idol Allât. Maximus Tyrius, in the second century, speaks of the Arabs generally as worshippers of stones. If Gibbon is right in connecting these objects of worship with the *βαίρα* of Syria and Greece, there is nothing very far-fetched in the suggestion of a latent allusion here to the Kaaba, as the *Beit Allah* or "house of God." The Kaaba, if we are to credit what was reported to General Daumas, received as many as three hundred and fifty idols, which were venerated by all Arabs, by Phœnician and Canaanite, as *Hobal*, *Late*, &c., as well as by Egyptian and Nubian, besides the single and jealous God of Abraham; no particular deity, however, dominating the rest. Out of the crowded Pantheon of the Kaaba Mahomet drew forth or restored the strict monotheism which has since formed the centre and rallying point of all Semitic races.

A number of curious details will be found in this portion of General Daumas's book, illustrative of the popular Arab belief in ogres, *djuns* or *afrites*, with the terrible effects of their powers and wiles upon the victims of their malice or their lust. There is no end to the marvels of necromancers, interpreters of dreams, and professors of second sight. Among the various gifts of divination, generally hereditary in certain families, two in particular supply new and extraordinary anecdotes. These are the *Kiyafate-el-bacher*, the "science of race," and *kiyafate-el-aakter*, the "science of traces." Of the former the Beni-Madledj are the great professors. Place before one of them any stranger, and were he among twenty others of different origin, he will enumerate his remotest ancestors. Still more keen and subtle is the art of tracking men or animals by their footsteps. No robber can elude these quick-sighted children of the desert. They will tell at a glance whether the footprints in the sand are those of a young or an old man, a man or a woman, a maid or a matron, a stranger or one born in the land. Their mere eyesight is fabulous. A native of the Ouad-souffi, at the extreme east of the French province of Algeria, said to the author, "We are the best walkers of the Sahara, and we can do readily our thirty leagues a day. I do not pass for being particularly far-sighted, but I can perfectly distinguish a camel from a horse a day's journey off. I have friends," he added, "who can tell the fumes of tobacco or roast meat at a distance of five-and-twenty miles in the desert. If a hare crosses our path we know at once whether it is a male or a female, and, in the latter case, whether she is with young or not. Show us a date stone, we will tell you the palm that grew it." Mohammed himself owed his escape from the unerring Koreish to the accident or miracle of a spider spinning her web across the mouth of the cave whither he and Abou Bekir had fled for concealment, leading their pursuers to think that no one had for a long time entered the cave. One day, between Mecca and the desert, two Arabs differed about the footprints of a camel. "It is a male," said one. "It is a female," said the other. They agreed to follow it up. After a long pursuit they came up with it. The camel was a hermaphrodite. This beats the old story of the scrap of leather and the rusty key at the bottom of the cask of wine. A striking answer was given by one Arab to the question why he drank no wine. One day *Sheitan*, the devil, appeared to a man in a terrible form, and said, "You shall die or do one of three things—slay your father, violate your sister, or drink wine." What shall I do, thought the



man. Shall I murder him who gave me birth? Impossible. Violate my sister? Monstrous! I will drink wine. The man got drunk, murdered his father and violated his sister. Besides drink, *el khamer*, Mohammed denounced curses upon games of hazard, idolatry, and the casting lots by the fall of the sabre or by arrows. Incest, the murder of female children, and many other foul and hideous customs, were forbidden by his merciful code. Near Mecca is still shown a mountain, *Bou Dalamat*, where the Koreish used to bury their daughters alive, unless they were ransomed by some one for a he-camel and two she-camels with young. An Arab of the Beni-Oumiya would boast that his fathers had raised one dead, referring to their practice of buying back these victims from the tomb. The mitigation of slavery, the softening of ancient manners, while consecrating all that was pure, just, generous, and in good faith in the older code of Africa, are succinctly sketched in the chapters where our author contrasts the influences of religion and morals before and after the age of the Prophet.

Sanguine as we find General Daumas to be as regards the future of French rule in Algeria, and proudly as he dilates upon the achievements of his countrymen for the good of that favoured land, we are discouraged at observing that he can discern no other basis for its solidity and permanence than military force. We must be, he says, in fact we are, just, tolerant, and considerate. "We respect the religion, the customs, the prejudices of the natives. We keep up their mosques, we encourage and develop their schools. We even facilitate their pilgrimages to Mecca, only, alas! to see them return more fanatical and intolerant than they went. Still, we make no approximation to unity or communion of feeling and usage." We are an alien race. It is not as colonists and brethren, but as conquerors and lords, that the French subside upon African soil. The utmost we can in reason expect for that fair province and its noble race is for it to attain to something like the organization, the just yet vigorous government, and the strict regard to all native rights, which have become the settled basis of our own rule over our great Eastern dependency. A paternal government in the strictest and best sense is the only one which we can venture to pronounce possible where such extreme and irreconcilable differences of blood, manners, and religion form a barrier between the conquering and the conquered race. It is after all, to an indefinite extent, upon the personal tact, prudence, and prestige of our individual officers, military and civil, that the hold of our Indian Empire upon the native mind and heart must ultimately rest. For French ascendancy to be in any sense a blessed and a lasting thing in Algeria, the most encouraging prospect we can picture to ourselves is that it may continue to be upheld by public servants of the high capacity, the considerate temper, and the liberal views of statesmanship of which the author before us forms the model and the type.

#### ANDREWS'S LIFE OF CROMWELL.\*

THIS is one of the books which do not of themselves explain why they were written, and whose authors do not give us any help in finding it out. A man who writes a book on a subject on which so many other men have written books as the life of Oliver Cromwell should surely either have something new to say or else be able to say the old things in some specially striking way. Mr. Andrews certainly does not tell the old things in any specially striking way, and we have not found out that he has anything new to tell us. But then he does not give us the helps which the natural cravings of the reader, and still more those of the reviewer, might fairly demand. We might fairly have looked for a preface to tell us whether Mr. Andrews had any special object in writing his book, whether he had access to any fresh materials, whether any new facts are really to be found anywhere in his volume. An unusually inquiring mind may make out these things for itself, but the habitual idleness of human nature would be better pleased to have some sort of guide by the way. But Mr. Andrews gives us no preface, he gives us no references, he gives us only about half-a-dozen notes throughout, one of which contains a quotation from the Bible, another from Dr. Chalmers, and a third from Mr. Disraeli. This is really harder measure than we get from Mr. Hepworth Dixon. Mr. Dixon is too wary to give references, but then he does give us a preface. In reading Mr. Andrews, we are as it were at sea without compass or rudder, and with neither sun nor stars appearing for many days. At last we find ourselves suddenly in harbour, but the harbour is not altogether what we might have expected. Our first extract from Mr. Andrews's book shall be its last sentence:—

In brief, Charles I. was brought to Windsor on December 23, removed to St. James's on the 15th of January following: his trial commenced on the 20th, sentence passed on the 27th, and the last sad act was carried into effect on the 30th of January, 1649.

These facts are not particularly new, nor is there anything remarkable in the telling, save that we should have thought that what was "carried into effect" on the 30th was not "the last act," but the sentence passed on the 27th. Then why should a Life of Cromwell stop at this particular point? To be sure the title-page promises us no more, but then a preface might have explained. And why is all the time from December 12 to January 30 cut so very short? Why are we cheated of the story, true or false, about

Cromwell and Marten spurling one another with the ink? These things and many more questions touching Mr. Andrews's aim and objects are cruelly left behind the veil.

But some things we can see for ourselves, such for instance as that Mr. Andrews's book is written in exceedingly poor English, and that it contains a good many mistakes, some of them of a kind which we should not have expected from a barrister-at-law. A barrister, as a barrister, is perhaps not bound to know chronology, but we think that he is bound to know the different ranks of the peerage, and we are sure that he is bound to know the difference between an advowson and an impropriation. Let us try Mr. Andrews on all three counts. For the first, as we have already quoted the last sentence in the book, we will now quote the first:—

Somewhat towards the close of the fifteenth century—when the long Wars of the Roses, which had lasted eighty years, were drawing to a termination, consequent on the great victory at Bosworth Field, gained by Henry VII. over the tyrant Richard—there was living in the quiet village of Putney, not far from London, a man who carried on the trade of blacksmith, by name Cromwell.

According to Mr. Froude, the blacksmith was an iron-founder; according to the historian of Henry the Eighth he was a cloth-shearer; but let that pass, especially as Mr. Froude's words, "iron-founder or other business of that description," are a little vague. But what concerns us is the peculiar arithmetic which makes the Wars of the Roses last eighty years. Eighty years before Bosworth carries us back to the execution of Archbishop Scrope, in 1405; and if Mr. Andrews holds that the Wars of the Roses broke out then, he must at least allow that they were soon interrupted by a considerable lull.

The early life of Thomas Cromwell has been a matter of dispute over and over again. Mr. Andrews gives us once more the story of his visit to Rome, which according to him had some remarkable results. "It was during this visit that Cromwell succeeded in gaining the extensive insight of the crafty policy of the Papacy, and of the *Roman civil Law*, which became of so much service to him on his return." We are as much puzzled about the "Roman civil law" in this particular place as Lord Macaulay was when his American editor made him talk about "the Pandects of the Benares." Why should Cromwell gain any better insight into the Roman Civil Law by going to Rome than by going anywhere else? Does Mr. Andrews, a barrister-at-law, not know what the words "Civil Law" mean? or does he fancy that Cromwell would find the Prætor Urbanus sitting in the sixteenth century? In the same page we read:—

At what period he changed his religion and adopted the Protestant faith, history does not tell us; most probably it took place during his visit to, or shortly after his return from Rome. As the early friend of the Reformation, we find him among the first who took an active part in that great struggle, and during his brief career he was to the last regarded as its chief champion and defender.

Whether Thomas Cromwell ever changed his religion depends on the subtler question whether he ever had any religion to change; as to his "adopting the Protestant faith," it would be very odd if history did tell us when that happened. We suspect that Mr. Andrews is of the sect which believes that "Gospel light flashed from Boleyn's eyes."

Here again:—

Among the many instances history furnishes of what may not inappropriately be called retributive parallels, is that peculiar one in reference to the families of the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Cromwells. It is remarkable that the two Cromwells—those two, at least, who figure to any purpose in the world's history—the first and the last, Thomas and Oliver, separated by a brief period of sixty years between the death of the one and the birth of the other—had each a sanguinary connexion with the reigning monarch on the throne of these realms.

Our ideas about "retributive parallels" and "sanguinary connexions" not being very clear, we began to think whether, by any effort of genealogical romance, we could make out that the Cromwells were what some people call "bloody relations" to the Tudors and Stuarts. Mr. Andrews is not particular about Welsh pedigrees, or Welsh counties either, and he tells us that "doubts exist as to the right of Richard Williams,"—Oliver's direct ancestor, who took the name of Cromwell—"to claim kindred with the Williams of Glamorganshire or Cardiganshire." The Williams of Glamorganshire or Cardiganshire must form a large part of the inhabitants of those countries; why should not some of them have been "bloody relations" to Owen Tudor, and so have brought about a "sanguinary connexion" between Cromwells, Tudors, and Stuarts? But no, the sanguinary connexion means that King Henry cut off the head of Thomas and that Oliver cut off the head of King Charles. In the grander language of Mr. Andrews,

The blood of Thomas Cromwell, the victim of Henry VIII., so unrighteously shed on Tower Hill in the year 1540, was avenged on the person of Henry's descendant three generations later. One hundred and nine years were suffered to elapse, but then came the catastrophe at Whitehall, and Charles I. of England was led to the scaffold. Not the least noteworthy fact is it, that the man who beyond all others most conduced to this latter tragedy was Oliver Cromwell, the nephew, three generations later, of the murdered Lord Chancellor.

We do not every day come across a man who believes that Charles the First was a descendant of Henry the Eighth, and that Thomas Cromwell was Lord Chancellor.

Presently we read that "Parker, the new Protestant primate, had supplanted, under Elizabeth, the Cardinal Archbishop Pole." Now does Mr. Andrews really fancy that Parker was appointed during Pole's lifetime, or is it simply the grand style, "supplanted"

\* Life of Oliver Cromwell to the Death of Charles the First. By J. R. Andrews, Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans & Co. 1870.



being no doubt a grander word than "succeeded"? A little way on we read:—

The bishops, most of whom had been appointed to their sees in the reign of Queen Mary, were required to take an oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth: the whole Bench, with one exception, refused compliance. Coverdale alone took the oath of allegiance. He had been the only bishop willing to assist at the consecration of Parker. As a consequence of this refusal to recognise the Queen's supremacy, they were all deprived of their bishoprics.

If words have any meaning, Mr. Andrews thinks that Coverdale was a diocesan Bishop under Mary, that it was he, and not Kitchen of Llandaff, who, alone among diocesan Bishops, took the oath of supremacy, and that he most uncanonically consecrated Parker all by himself, as John Wesley consecrated Dr. Coke. In the middle of these wonderful propositions we come to one more wonderful than all, namely, that "the Uniformity Act" of Elizabeth "was drawn up by Cramer and others." A little way on we come to the birth of Oliver himself, on which Mr. Andrews makes a comment, which we will merely transcribe, as the meaning, for we doubt not that it has a meaning, is parangs too deep for us:—

Oliver Cromwell was born on April 25, 1599 (old style), in the small town of Huntingdon, fifty-nine miles north of Shoreditch Church; that number, be it remembered, singularly enough coinciding with the number of years of Oliver Cromwell's life. Three generations of the Cromwells had passed away since the fatal event on Tower Hill. Queen Elizabeth, who was in her seventh year when that happened, lived to see the advent of Thomas Lord Cromwell's great-nephew Oliver.

Queen Elizabeth then, according to Cocker, reigned no less than thirty-four years before she was born, and was born fifty-six years after the beheading of her mother.

But we must not forget our two special charges, that Mr. Andrews does not know the ranks of the peerage or the difference between advowsons and impropriations. In describing the doings of Laud Mr. Andrews tells us:—

Lay impropriations had long been a source of vexation to this prelate, affording, as they did, opportunities for Puritan divines to preach in places otherwise inaccessible.

This was beyond us; we could not understand why a church which was a vicarage should be more accessible for Puritan divines to preach in than one that was a rectory. Nor were matters at all clearer when we went on to read:—

During the last year of King James, a number of influential Puritans, with the celebrated Dr. Preston at their head, struck with the evil consequences to religion the *Book of Sports* was calculated to produce, be-thought themselves of a scheme to counteract the mischief by buying up all the lay impropriations that could be secured. Since that period this had been done to a very considerable extent. As to their origin, it will be recollected that at the suppression of abbeyes and monasteries, in 1539, a vast amount of Church property fell to the monarch, who bestowed portions of the confiscated estates amongst his courtiers. These subsequently became known under the title of lay impropriations.

Then, directly after, Mr. Andrews tells us how "in 1624 subscriptions were commenced, the funds thus raised being vested in feeoffees, who bought up the advowsons according as money and opportunities enabled them." We thus know, on the authority of a barrister-at-law, that "advowsons" and "lay impropriations" are terms which may be used indifferently, and therefore, taking in Mr. Andrews's definition of an impropriation, that an advowson is a portion of a confiscated estate bestowed by the monarch. This is wonderful enough, but it is yet more wonderful when we read a few pages on:—

It would appear, however, that whilst lay impropriations had been effectually rooted out, Laud was not quite so successful in dealing with the lecturers themselves.

It is thus calmly and incidentally implied that Laud "rooted out" impropriations, therefore we presume advowsons also. Does Mr. Andrews really think that Charles and Laud got back again all that Henry confiscated?

We are ashamed to explain to any one so familiar a piece of the history of the seventeenth century. The fact which Mr. Andrews has thus inconceivably blundered about is simply this. Certain persons of the Puritan party subscribed and bought such lay impropriations as they could, employing the revenues in endowing lectures. The object was much the same as that of the Simeon trust for buying advowsons, but as, with all deference to Mr. Andrews, an advowson and an impropriation are not the same thing, the means taken were somewhat different. Laud naturally disliked the scheme, and the end of it was that the trust was declared illegal, and that the impropriations which had been bought were forfeited to the Crown.

Our other story is this. We move to quite the other end of the book, to the fruitless Royalist insurrections in 1648. Here Mr. Andrews tell us how

The Earl of Holland . . . collecting about a hundred horsemen from the neighbourhood of Kingston-on-Thames . . . proceeded to Banstead Downs, and was there joined by the young Earl of Buckingham and his brother, Lord Francis Cavendish, bringing with them several hundred followers.

Here are several mysteries. How came an Earl's brother to be Lord Francis?—only to be sure the Earl might not be a real Earl, but only the eldest son of a Marquess. If there was an Earl of Buckingham in those days, how did he hit it off with the not wholly unknown Dukes bearing the same title? To be sure the thing might be, as we have now a Duke of Buckingham and an Earl of Buckinghamshire, a Duke of Devonshire and an Earl of Devon. Only we did not remember the contemporary Earl. Then, again, was any Cavendish ever Earl of Buckingham? The two people so stupidly described are really the second Duke of Buckingham—afterwards too famous—and his brother Lord Francis Villiers.

The Cavendish we can only conceive to be the ghost of Sir Charles Cavendish, who was killed four years before at Marston Moor.

There is a proverb which says that if we take care of the two ends, the middle will take care of itself. We have taken, as we think, good care of the two ends of Mr. Andrews's book. If we pass but lightly over the middle, let no one think that the book is a Life of Oliver Cromwell with the part of Oliver Cromwell left out. Not a bit of it. Mr. Andrews goes steadily through the whole thing, and we have, as in duty bound, gone steadily through it after him. And we had marked some plums in the middle part also, but we had not room for all, and it so happened that the richest plums—the toppers, so to speak—came at the two ends. But we must look at Mr. Andrews in another character. Like Mr. Froude, he sometimes wanders into strange centuries. And we must say that he wanders into them with much greater luck than Mr. Froude. For instance, we have nothing to say against the little summary of things Danish, old and new—least of all, against the minutely accurate description of the living Prince—save that it comes funnily after the death of Anne of Denmark:—

There are two other memorable instances wherein this country became closely connected with the Danish people. The Danes made their first appearance as invaders on our shores, A.D. 783. For nearly 300 years they renewed these attempts, to the terror of the inhabitants, until the year 1017, when their conquest was completed by Canute, who became King. The last is that which but recently took place in the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (eldest son of Queen Victoria) with a princess of the House of Denmark.

The sentence before is less easy:—

By the issue of this marriage with Anne of Denmark, the royal house of Denmark became intimately connected with the reigning family of England in the Princess Elizabeth, who had lately married Frederic, the Elector Palatine.

Unless the Elector Palatine had some connexion of his own with the House of Denmark, a point which we are too idle to look into, we really do not see how the House of Denmark was more closely connected with the Princess Elizabeth than it was with her brother King Charles. As Queen Anne did not live to see her son's marriage, it can hardly be because

My son is my son till he marries a wife,  
But my daughter's my daughter all the days of my life.

Mr. Andrews also gives us, *à propos* to Thomas Cromwell's destruction of monasteries, one of those charmingly condescending pictures of what "it has been customary to stigmatize as the dark ages." We wish we had room to give it at length, but we must mention the one special fact which Mr. Andrews picks out to show that monks did some good in their time:—

Let us also remember that to them we owe the first introduction of silk into Europe. Two monks who were travelling in the East, secreted in a cane a quantity of the eggs of an Oriental insect, and brought them to Constantinople, about the year 552, having made the discovery, long kept a secret by the natives, of the value of the silkworm—all these, and more if necessary, may be adduced to prove our indebtedness to the monks of olden time.

It is a comfort to find that Mr. Andrews knows one fact in the reign of Justinian; it is a pity that he has not got up those parts of Justinian's reign which bear more directly on his own profession, and has not found out what is meant by the Roman Civil Law.

#### THE MARCHIONESS OF MONTAGU.\*

THIS volume, we are told, does not pretend to be anything more than a collection of family reminiscences. It is a short biography of one of the amiable French ladies of the old school, who was driven abroad by the French Revolution, and it is composed chiefly from her diary and her correspondence with her family. The book, as was natural, is written from the point of view of people who can see in the Revolution nothing but an unprovoked outburst of diabolical crime. The French *noblesse*, we are assured, was everything that was amiable and farsighted. If they had been left to carry out their own views, France would have received a perfect Constitution on the English model, embodying all the really valuable doctrines of modern political theory. Unluckily, the French people did not quite trust their natural leaders; they listened to the voice of unprincipled demagogues, cut off the heads of their King and Queen and of a very large number of the wise and liberal aristocrats themselves, and thereby caused a great deal of scandal, and threw the course of events out of the smooth and prosperous groove in which it might otherwise have advanced. We need not discuss the soundness of this opinion. There are, in all cases of political revolution, many admirable persons on both sides of the question; and perhaps we are already far enough removed from the terrible passions of the time to look with tolerable fairness upon anybody who, in either party, gave proof of genuine sincerity and unselfishness. The exiles of that trying period are hardly to be held up as models of political wisdom; they inevitably took a very shortsighted view of the tremendous explosion whose consequences will hardly be exhausted within our lifetime, and which undoubtedly inflicted most cruel hardships upon many individuals, whatever benefits it may have conferred upon the world at large. But many of them showed a noble spirit in bearing their sufferings, and the example is equally good whatever may be our view of the merits of the cause which they defended. Madame de Montagu, we are assured, "practised the greatest virtues," and the bitterest repub-

\* *Memoirs of the Marquise de Montagu*. By the Baroness de Noailles. London: R. Bentley. 1870.



mean may now do her justice without professing to sympathize with her opinions.

The portrait drawn in this volume has indeed much that is really attractive. Perhaps we are a little annoyed by the rather indiscriminating series of eulogies. The biography reminds us rather too much of the style of writing generally appropriated to the lives of saints. Everything that the heroine does is assumed to be perfect, and some very moderate exhibitions of virtue are celebrated with rather excessive eulogy. In the earlier part of the biography, to say the truth, we are rather unpleasantly reminded of a very keen remark made by Miss Becky Sharpe. 'That keen observer was of opinion that she could have been a good woman upon 10,000*l.* a year. The Marchioness of Montagu is surrounded by so much luxury that we find it rather hard to admire her for being moderately charitable. When she was married, the diamonds alone which were presented by her relations were valued at 40,000*l.* She lived in the highest circles in Paris, and though we are told that she only went into society to give pleasure to her father-in-law, it is quite obvious that she had a very fair share of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. However, harder days were in store for her. Her husband opposed the first emigration, and seems to have had a certain degree of sympathy for Lafayette, who married one of her sisters. Before long, however, they were compelled to leave their native country, and until the return of the *émigrés* under Napoleon they led an uncomfortable life of wandering from one place of refuge to another, before the advance of the French armies. She need not, one would think, have been exposed to any great privations. Just as she left Paris, her sister very judiciously recommended her to take her diamonds; and these were sold in London for twenty-two thousand pounds. Some of this seems to have been spent in fitting out her husband for the campaign under the Duke of Brunswick; but we are rather surprised to find that in less than a year afterwards she is all but ruined. She had had great difficulties, we are told, in understanding the intricacies of housekeeping in England, and we can easily believe it of a French marchioness totally ignorant of the petty details necessary; but her management must have been superlatively bad if it resulted in throwing away twenty thousand pounds in twelve months. Under these difficulties she ultimately found refuge with one of her aunts, a Madame de Tessé, who had retired to Switzerland with a considerable part of her fortune. Madame de Tessé, though slightly sketched, is one of the pleasantest characters in the book. She was, we are told, a friend of Voltaire, and given to much infidel conversation, which was a great shock to Madame de Montagu's ardent religious enthusiasm. However, Madame de Tessé's infidelity appears to have been confined to the regions of speculation; she was a lively, active Frenchwoman, who gave effectual support and shelter, not only to her niece, but to several poor countrymen. After various troubles, she bought a farm in Holstein, and there the little body of French refugees formed a small society at a tolerable distance from the storms which raged over the greatest part of Europe. The picture of her life is interesting, though it is rather suggested than fully described. As may be supposed, these waifs and strays of French society had many troubles, and became rather ill-tempered. They tried to amuse themselves in the evenings by reading *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Tristram Shandy*, and *Plutarch's Lives*. They discussed over and over the stray pieces of intelligence that drifted to their place of refuge. The conversations became frivolous, and frequently took a rather sceptical turn which was grievous to Madame de Montagu's soul. To say the truth, we can imagine few more trying situations than fell to the lot of some eight or ten French refugees fixed together in a remote country-house in Holstein, with little occupation except listening to accounts of revolutionary successes and making feeble attempts to revive some faint recollection of a Parisian *salon*. Madame de Montagu was the saint of the party, and managed to find more congenial occupation. Her mother, her grandmother, and her sister had been guillotined in one day; she lost three children in their early infancy; and she was amongst people who had small sympathy for her religious feelings. She tried to distract herself in various ways; she worked unremittingly with her needle, and made a grand counterpane for a bishop who was one of her companions in exile; but she also found more worthy occupations. She had some share—we do not quite know how much—in the conversion of Count von Stolberg to Catholicism which caused the animated controversy with Voss; and he and his wife remained her warm friends till the end of their lives. Moreover, she meditated profoundly on a plan which she did much to carry into execution. Although we are treated to some reflections on its wisdom, we cannot say that in these days it strikes us as profoundly original. It was, in short, to get up a subscription for the French emigrants. She supposed, we are told, that one person in fifty in every European country would give a franc. Why it should be one in fifty, rather than one in a hundred or one in twenty-five, we are unable to discover. In the cities she assumed that one person in every ten would give a franc; and these purely imaginary calculations of an excellent lady, who knew as much about finance as she did of Sanskrit, are detailed as gravely as though they were Mr. Lowe's calculations for his next Budget. Of course the poor marchioness did not get the sums she wished, and found, like all other people who propose schemes of voluntary taxation, that the proceeds are apt to correspond very ill with the original estimates. However, she succeeded in raising considerable sums; and we are called upon to admire her superhuman energy in writing "three, four, five, and even ten letters a day." Letters were then more serious things than they are now, but the

energetic manager of a charity who should boast of performing such a task at the present time would hardly be allowed to have done anything wonderful. The employment, if not apparently overwhelming in its amount, was at any rate very becoming, and Madame de Montagu doubtless deserved the warm gratitude of her fellow exiles.

In 1800 she returned to France, and was able to recover a considerable part of her property. During the rest of her life her main employments seem to have been the raising of another subscription for the cemetery of Picpus, where many of the victims of the guillotine, and amongst them her own nearest relations, were buried, and the distribution of charity to the poor in the neighbourhood of her estate in the country. We are of course told that the people regarded her with feelings of tender devotion; that those who had acquired fragments of her property during the Revolution were terribly vexed in their consciences, and anxious to restore their ill-gotten gains; and that a servant who was dangerously ill declared that he did not care about living, but that he would rather not die till after his mistress, that he might cling to the hem of her dress, and be certain of reaching heaven. In short, the democratic outburst which had for a time destroyed or concealed all the old sentiments of feudal veneration had passed away, and the tender relations between the great lady and her humble dependants were restored in all their vigour. The picture strikes us as having a little too rosy a tint; but we have no doubt that there is so much substantial truth in it that Madame de Montagu was in fact a very charitable, very religious, and very graceful woman, though the misfortunes which she suffered cast a certain gloom upon her character. It is rather painful to find her grieving bitterly for her relations, and then reproaching herself for her grief because it indicated a want of faith; and one of the best things in the volume is a very sensible letter from the Abbé Edgeworth, pointing out that she really might permit herself to be unhappy when her nearest and dearest relations had perished on the scaffold and her children been cut off in their infancy. If we were disposed to complain of the rather melancholy and self-tormenting character of her religion, we must confess that one who had suffered so much had good reason to be less cheerful than we could otherwise desire. Yet we have a certain sympathy for the cheery old Madame de Tessé, who kept up her vivacity during her misfortunes and supported her relations in the most hospitable way, even though she talked Voltaire, and did not mind an occasional laugh when she ought to have been solemn. Madame de Montagu died in 1839, at the age of seventy-two, after most of her intimate friends had gone before her.

The book appears to be a translation, though the fact is not mentioned in the title-page, as appears from occasional blunders and certain defects of style. The writer, for example, has mistaken the Christian name of Gouverneur Morris for the French translation of Governor; and the following does not strike us as a happy adaptation. A brutal president of a revolutionary tribunal answered one of his victims, who told him she was deaf, by saying, "Well, then, citoyenne, *tu conspirais sourdement*." This is put into English, "You conspired without hearing." The point, such as it is, is perhaps untranslatable, but certainly it is not translated by this phrase.

#### WENDERHOLME.\*

LOCAL colour is at once an element of weakness and of strength in a novel. To a large class of readers the introduction of provincial types of character and dialect is a stumbling-block, so that the novelist who relies upon them, in addition to the other difficulties of his task, creates for himself at the outset a bar to general appreciation. Even the genius of Scott has failed to make much of the humour and descriptive power of his distinctively Scotch scenes palatable south of the Tweed. On the other hand, employed by a writer who knows what he is about and possesses the requisite skill to weave the fruits of his own observation and experience into an artistic whole, they unquestionably add to the graphic and lifelike effect of his work. One thing is indispensable. They must be genuine and true to nature. Of all the concoctions of modern fiction, the sham provincial, that smoothest of Jacobs masquerading in the garb of a countrified Esau, is the most unendurable. The ladies who write of bigamy and murder might at least have the modesty to leave the provinces alone, and abstain from evolving from their internal consciousness Yorkshire squires and Manchester traders who act and speak as neither of those classes was ever known, or by possibility could be conceived, to act and speak.

The portraiture of men and places in this novel is not of this fantastic and irresponsible kind. Mr. Hamerton has evidently made a careful study of Lancashire forms of thought and speech. With a keen eye for the picturesque he seizes very happily the main social characteristic of a manufacturing district, the gradual displacement of old families and the gravitation of old acres to new men. The interest of his story centres round two groups, belonging to two very different classes. The Ogdens are cotton-spinners of the old school, specimens of the class who found colossal fortunes, not so much from choice, as because it is their *raison d'être*. "When Nature," says our author, "produces a creature for an especial purpose, she does not burden it with wants and desires that would scatter its force and impair its

\* *Wenderholme*. By Philip G. Hamerton. 3 vols. London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons.



efficiency. The industrial epoch had to be inaugurated, and to do this a body of men were needed who should be fresh springs of pure energy and reservoirs of all but illimitable capital, men who should act with the certainty and steadiness of natural instincts which have never been impaired by the hesitations of culture and philosophy; men who were less nearly related to the University professor than to the ant, the beaver, and the bee." Utterly illiterate, Jacob Ogden possessed in a high degree the intelligence which is cultivated by a close observation of the men and things within the narrow circle of his life. In all that related to money he acted with the pitiless regularity of the irresistible forces of nature. He was fond of going to church on Sundays, but he had no notion of allowing the beautiful sentiments he heard there to paralyse his action on a week-day. Every Sunday he prayed that God would forgive him his debts as he forgave his debtors; but that was no reason why he should not from Monday morning to Saturday night inclusively compel everybody to pay what he owed, and distress him for it if necessary. In doing this he acted quite simply and instinctively. The forces of wealth had, as it were, incarnated themselves in him. His sympathy with money was so complete, he had so entirely subjected his mind to it, so thoroughly made himself its pupil and mouth-piece, that it is less accurate to say that he *had* money, than that he *was* money. Jacob Ogden was a certain sum of money whose unique idea was its own increase, and which acted in obedience to the laws of wealth as infallibly as a planet acts in obedience to the cosmic forces. There was only one weak point in his strong and resolute character—a belief in a social heaven above him, the heaven of aristocracy. Great was the successful cotton-spinner in his eyes, but there were beings cast by nature in a nobler mould than his own. He sincerely believed that there was the same difference between a lord and a plebeian that there is between a thorough-bred and a cart-horse. With this deeply-rooted Anglican superstition about the heaven of aristocracy and the gifted angels that dwell therein, it was natural that he should desire to qualify his nephew and heir for admission there. This being the object of his ambition, it is difficult to understand his obstinate opposition to young Jacob's marriage with the highborn Edith Stanburne. Though no longer the heiress of Wenderholme after the Colonel's ruin, she remained the grand-daughter of an Earl and the descendant of a house of historic lineage—considerations, one would think, that would have weighed with a man who desired to connect himself with lords. As Wenderholme had passed into his hands his conduct can hardly be attributed to chagrin at the loss of the long-coveted estate. Altogether the development of his character towards the end of the story shows some inconsistency, which is a blemish in an otherwise powerful delineation. The insanity which finally overtakes him is somewhat sudden, but it is, we think, a well-imagined touch, and points an impressive moral. Old Mrs. Ogden has a no less strongly marked individuality, but she has a good deal more of the milk of human kindness in her composition. In her thrift, and her satisfaction in acquiring for acquiring's sake, as well as in the stiff self-reliance of her nature, she resembles her son. Her maxim that "Ogdens are buyers and not sellers" is quite conceived in his spirit. But her Mammon-worship is tempered by a vein, not exactly of geniality, but of kindness, and now and then of right feeling. She has no sympathy for her little grandson when he is beaten by his father for inkling his trousers, but her love for him is strong, and the expression of it by no means limited to lavish allowances of cake and elderflower wine. The sturdiness of her character is pleasantly relieved by natural touches of feminine unreason. Thus she is genuinely concerned at the sottish habits of her eldest son; but she has a little contempt for him when he turns tee-totaller. In the abstract she desires a prudent marriage for Jacob, but she is rather stiff and resentful when the prospect of a daughter-in-law becomes imminent. Her homeliness and naïveté give rise to a good many whimsical situations; but her anger when Colonel Stanburne allows her to take his drag for a public vehicle strikes us as betraying a want of that sense of humour which is popularly attributed to her native county. The scene in which she is discovered by morning-callers quietly established with her knitting in her magnificent bran-new chariot is even more amusing. So quaint an incident one would think must be founded on fact.

With the other groups of characters who figure in the story Mr. Hamerton has, we think, been less successful. The Stanburnes please us less than the Ogdens. In carrying his readers from the homely world of Shayton to the higher social level of Wenderholme, our author fails to keep sufficiently in view those distinctions of class which inevitably suggest themselves, and which, for good or for evil, are realities of English, and we presume of Lancashire, life. His county magnate is far too much on the same plane with his plebeian cotton-spinner. Captain Stanburne is a gentleman of ancient family and large estate. Allowance made for the confidential relations which may be supposed to exist between a colonel of militia and his regimental surgeon, one is a little startled to find a great squire discussing his own household arrangements with a country doctor with the utmost freedom, and describing himself as being still "spooney" on his wife, and that lady as "finking" her cook. Then his way of talking is rather perplexing. We don't so much object to his addressing Lady Helena as a "good gell," because militia associations might now and then betray even a squire into a str. provincialism. But why should he be made in the earlier scenes to talk like the conventional swell in *Pruch* about "fellahs" and "mawidge," &c., while, as the story advances, this peculiarity entirely disappears? Apart from the difficulty which we feel in accepting him as a representative of the landed

gentry, he is, as a man, somewhat of a puzzle. Swagger and intellectual humility are rarely to be found in combination. Then, although the reader is specially cautioned not to take him for a fool, he certainly does develop a remarkable capacity for doing foolish things, until in the crisis of his fate a vein of quiet heroism suddenly crops up in him, and he comes out in quite a new light. The sensations of the ruined man are described with very much force and truth in the following passage, but surely more reproaches from tapestry and family pictures imply a more imaginative temperament than the Colonel possessed:—

One of the most strange and painful things about ruin is, that for days and even weeks after it has actually come upon a man, his outward life remains in all its details as it was before; so that in the interval between the loss of fortune and the abandonment of his habitual way of living he leads a double life, just as a ghost would do if it were condemned to simulate the earthly existence it led before death among the dear familiar scenes. For there are two sorts of separation. You get into a railway train, and take ship and emigrate to some distant colony or some alien empire, and see no more the land that gave you birth, nor the house which sheltered you, nor the faces of your friends. This separation is full of sadness; but there is another separation which in its effect on the mind is incomparably more to be dreaded. I mean that terrible separation which divides you from the persons with whom you are still living, from the house you have never quitted, from the horses in the stable, from the dog upon the hearth, from the bed you lie in, from the chair you sit upon, from the very plate out of which you eat your daily food. The man who still in his old house knows that he has become insolvent, feels this in a thousand subtly various tures that succeed each other without intermission. A curse has fallen on everything that he sees, on everything that he touches, a wonderful and magical curse, devised by the ingenuity of Plutus, the arch-enchanter. The wildest fairy tale narrates no deeper sorcery than this. Everything shall remain, materially, exactly as it was; but when you go into your library you shall not be able to read, in your dining-room the food shall choke you, and you shall toss all night upon your bed. And thus did it come to pass that from this hour all the beauties and the luxuries and all the accumulated objects and devices that made up the splendour of Wenderholme became so many several causes of torture to John Stanburne.

Lady Helena exhibits the same want of moral harmony which we have noticed in the Colonel. Mr. Hamerton seems to us to have failed to realize to himself with sufficient precision his conception of a county lady. One detects gleams of several types of womanhood in her; but individuality is wanting. There is a strong dash of piebald in her character. For a clever little woman aspiring to manage her husband, and keenly and aggravatingly observant of his foibles, she displays a singular lack of sagacity in her own domestic conduct. Her prudential objection, for instance, to the Colonel's four-in-hand does not extend to his infinitely more costly project of restoring Wenderholme to its Elizabethan glories. One is inclined to agree with her when, in the first bitterness of ruin, she reproaches her husband as unfit to have the management of his property. But certainly the poor Colonel might have retorted that, in spite of her airs of superiority, she was equally unfit to be associated with him in the task. Then her heartless conduct in deserting him in his hour of need is difficult to reconcile with the hypothesis that her marriage had been one of love and not mere convenience; and this desertion is in turn rather strangely neutralized by the exceedingly gushing mood in which, after a few months, she returns to welcome back the exile. This pleasing revolution of sentiment is more illustrative of our author's characteristic optimism than consonant with Lady Helena's antecedents.

A novelist strongly impressed with the strength and influence of class distinctions and separations in English society might have felt considerable embarrassment in bringing the Ogdens and their plebeian world into relation with Wenderholme and its patrician world. To Mr. Hamerton it would seem to be the most natural thing possible. Indeed we cannot help thinking that an intelligent Frenchman, after reading *Wenderholme*, would certainly come to the conclusion that the ideas of equality and fraternity had made great progress in Lancashire. It is fair to add that a link of connexion between the Stanburnes and the Ogdens has been contrived with due regard to probability. A colonel of militia, even when of less free and easy habits than Colonel Stanburne, is naturally brought into contact with his brother officers, and in a less degree with their families. The assembling of the local militia at Sootythorn leads to a series of incidents in the lives of various personages in the story. Philip Stanburne, for instance, the head of the Catholic branch of the Stanburnes, who had lived secluded at the Peel, manages to fall in love with Alice Stedman, the daughter of a red-hot Protestant manufacturer. Of course "the religious difficulty" prevents a marriage, and when the father shows symptoms of relenting, it is too late; for Alice, a rather insipid specimen of the Lancashire lass, dies of consumption, leaving her lover to bury himself in a foreign monastery. But this conflict between principle and passion is a mere episode, while the other love-affair between young Jacob Ogden and Edith Stanburne is touched upon very slightly, and is rather a corollary of the story than an integral part of it. Then the Colonel gives a grand fête, on colours being presented to the 20th Lancashire Militia, in the course of which Wenderholme is burnt to the ground, rather to the satisfaction of an archaeological Duke who interests himself greatly in its rebuilding on a scale of great splendour and in pure Elizabethan style. This extravagance in turn accelerates the ruin of the Colonel's fortunes, which are ultimately patched up by the reversion of the Peel. There is little that can be strictly called plot in this concatenation of incidents, some of them comparatively trivial. It is true, of course, that human life is made up for the most part of trivialities, and that in the entanglement of human affairs we can seldom recognise the forces that affect our fate. But there is some risk, in constructing a work of fiction in analogy with



this view of life, of meandering into superfluous details and an unnecessary multiplication of characters. From these defects *Wanderholme* is not entirely free. But these defects, as well as the absence of some of the minor graces which adorn the pages of our best female novelists, are more than compensated by its substantial merits. It exhibits acute observation of men and things, and a remarkable power of picturesque description; above all, a raciness and masculine vigour which in these days of alternate gush and sensationalism cannot be too highly appreciated.

#### AMERICAN LITERATURE.

THERE is a numerous and very valuable class of American works which seem to be published with less regard to any chance of profit to be made by their sale than to the preservation and accessibility of important political and historical records. The very wide range of subjects over which the Reports of public departments and the publications ordered by the Federal and State Legislatures extend, and the liberality with which funds are voted for the collection and diffusion of scientific, statistical, and practical information on a great variety of topics, furnish the libraries of American towns with a number of volumes capable of rendering material service, not only to the practical inquirer who seeks to understand the resources and the physical characteristics of the country in which he may intend to settle, but also to the student of science or of history; volumes which no publisher would dream of printing as a private speculation, and which no author could afford to publish on his own account. The various societies and semi-official bodies to which the American system of government entrusts a number of public functions and a considerable amount of public money—and which fulfil duties undertaken on the Continent by official departments, in England divided between local authorities, administering funds raised by local rates, and voluntary associations dependent on subscriptions—also publish very full accounts of their proceedings, and often combine with these elaborate treatises on the work with which they are charged, illustrated by an ample collection of papers, setting forth the system pursued in the different States and in foreign countries, and the results of every important experiment that can throw new light upon the subject. To this last class of works belongs the *History of the Public School Society of New York*\* now before us, a large octavo volume of some 750 closely-printed pages, which contains a very complete record of the progress of public education in the Empire City during the present century. It is too full, minute, and overloaded with documents to be easy or agreeable reading; but it is on that account the more valuable, as a work of reference, to those who have leisure and will to make themselves acquainted with the detailed working of a system that bears so closely upon one of the most important social problems of the day in our own country. The records of the Society commence in 1805, previously to which date the education of the poorer classes in New York city seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the various religious communities. The Society's schools were founded on strictly unsectarian principles, and by men who espoused the doctrine, now so vehemently asserted by a certain party in England, that the State ought to give no assistance whatever to denominational teaching. These views brought them into frequent collision with the different denominations which claimed a share in the moneys voted by the Legislature for public education—a claim which the Society invariably and strongly resisted. A considerable part of the volume is occupied with the history of these contests; the various documents and speeches being in some cases given at full length. The most important of these struggles was that occasioned by the demand of the Roman Catholics, represented by Dr. Hughes, then Bishop of New York, for State assistance to their own schools. This story might have furnished Mr. Forster's opponents with some apt illustrations. The Legislature had done precisely what the Government Bill proposes to do—had relegated the question to the local authorities, empowering the Corporation to distribute at its discretion the school fund of the city. The latter had, as a rule, refused denominational applications, and Protestant sects had for the most part accepted without serious difficulty the teaching adopted in the schools of the Society. But Dr. Hughes insisted that that teaching was utterly inapplicable to the case of Roman Catholic children. The Bible read in the schools was a Protestant version; the school histories reflected sharply on the Church of Rome; the teachers, being Protestants, could hardly speak on religious subjects, however anxiously they might avoid sectarian topics, without unconsciously saying things offensive to Roman Catholic ears; and, on the other hand, a teaching from which religion should be really and effectively excluded, even if the Society would consent to educate children without any reference to the Christian sanctions of morality, would be as objectionable to the Catholics as Protestantism itself. A fierce controversy took place on the subject, the Corporation sitting in judgment on the issues argued before it by the Bishop on the one side, and by the representatives of the School Society, and of different Protestant sects, on the other. The speeches are given verbatim in the book before us, and many of the arguments have a curious resemblance to those

which last week occupied so large a space in the columns of our daily contemporaries. The objections of Dr. Hughes, in particular, illustrate the extreme difficulty of any scheme of unsectarian religious education. The same controversy has been waged in other parts of America; in New York it assumed unusually grave proportions from the great number of the Roman Catholics, and the fact that they belonged almost exclusively to the poorer classes, and were unable to make that provision for their own children which wealthier Churches were able to secure. After having conducted a large and increasing proportion of the education of the city for nearly forty years, the Public School Society was in 1853 superseded in its functions by an Education Board invested with public authority, in which it consented to merge itself. The present work may be regarded as a complete summary of its archives, and would furnish to any writer interested in the subject the materials for a history of a very successful and instructive experiment which might be acceptable to many who have neither time nor courage to attempt the perusal of this formidable-looking volume.

Another of those works which, while they are little likely to command a considerable circulation or to interest the general reader, preserve and render accessible to the student stores of information which might otherwise be lost or overlooked, and form a valuable contribution to that collection of documentary evidence of all sorts of which we have spoken as constituting so serviceable and important a part of American libraries, is Mr. French's second series of *Historical Papers*\* relating to the occupation and early history of the French and Spanish possessions on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Florida and Louisiana were, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the names not of limited and well-defined districts, but of vast and indefinite regions over which France and Spain respectively claimed authority, and which included not only the States now known by the same designations, but the whole valley of the Mississippi and the seaboard of the Gulf; in fact, fully one-half of the territory out of which the Southern States of the Union have since been formed. The documents here presented begin with a petition or memorial to M. de Pontchartrain, then in charge of the French Admiralty, setting forth the great value of the territory on the Mississippi River claimed by France, and praying that an expedition might be sent to take possession of and explore it. This was in 1697; in the next year the expedition sailed, and its history is given in a report from the commanding officer to the same Minister. Then follows a record of the principal events in the history of the colony, down to 1722, translated from unpublished MSS. in the French archives; and the series is concluded by a reprint of Hakluyt's translation of Laudonniere's account of the attempt made by the French Huguenots, in 1562-67, to found a colony in Florida, under the patronage of Coligny, then Admiral of France. These papers are of course mere fragments, the raw materials of history, and it may be of magazine articles; but, in rendering them accessible to all, Mr. French has taken the first and most difficult step in making the American public acquainted with the early history of this very important section of their country.

Our list contains two very interesting biographies, the subjects of both being in their several spheres among the most eminent of their contemporaries, and the representatives respectively of either of the two professions to which, with few exceptions, the leading statesmen and politicians of America belong. Mr. Raymond†, the founder, and to the end of his life the editor, of the *New York Times*, was as fair a representative of the order in which he enrolled himself at his first entrance on life, and of which he remained a member to the last, as American journalism could present. He was not, like Mr. Greeley, a political enthusiast or a social theorist, who established a newspaper only to give effect to his peculiar doctrines; while the most uncandid of his political adversaries—or even of the political friends who, enraged by his refusal to go all lengths with the extreme Radicals, denounced and drove him out of public life for his adhesion to President Johnson—would not pretend to compare him with the creator of the *New York Herald*. He resembled the ordinary type of English journalists more than most American masters of the craft. He engaged in journalism as a profession, and supported himself by his pen for years before he founded a journal of his own; but he was a conscientious politician, and his journal was always recognised as the organ of the Whigs or Republicans, as opposed to the Democrats on the one hand, and distinguished from the ultra-Abolitionists on the other. His first essays in journalism were made as a subordinate of Mr. Greeley, on the *Tribune*; ill-paid, dissenting from the Socialism and the extreme Dis-Unionist views of his chief, he next joined the *Courier*, with which he remained connected during a considerable period, interrupted only by a term of service in the Legislature. He found himself, however, more influential and more congenially situated on the press than on the platform or in the Capitol; and when the assistance of a friend enabled him to start a newspaper of his own, and to profit by the example of Mr. Bennett so far as energy, enterprise, and

\* *Historical Selections of Louisiana and Florida, including Translations of Original Manuscripts relating to their Discovery and Settlement; with numerous Historical and Biographical Notes.* By B. F. French, Member of the Louisiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts Historical Societies. New Series. New York: Sabin & Sons. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.

† *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years: Progress of American Journalism from 1840 to 1870.* With Portrait, Illustrations, and Appendix. By Augustus Maverick. Published by Subscription only. Hartford, Conn.: Hale & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

\* *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York.* With Portraits of the Presidents of the Society. By William Oland Bourne, A.M. New York: Wood & Co. London: Sampson, Low, Son, & Marston. Berlin: Stilke & Von Muyen. Paris: Gustave Bossange. 1870.



vigour in the collection of news and in the creation of a thoroughly popular and efficient journal were concerned, without degrading himself by imitating the coarseness and ribaldry of the *Herald*, he speedily achieved a social and political position which placed him fully on a level with Senators and Ministers. The idea as well as the title of the *Times* seems to have been borrowed from its English namesake; and to the last it more resembled an English newspaper, in the tone of its politics and in its adaptation to the tastes of the respectable middle class rather than to the vulgarity of the mob or the passions of a sect, than either of its principal rivals. It is not without reason, therefore, that Mr. Raymond's biographer has interwoven with the life of his hero and the story of the New York *Times* a general view of the recent history of the American press. In his political ventures, like many others of the highest class of American politicians, Mr. Raymond met with little but chagrin and disappointment. Like other more distinguished men, he was too moderate and too scrupulous for the post of a party leader, and too independent for the servility required of an ordinary partisan; and at the close of his term in the Senate he was glad to return to the editor's desk, and to avoid, during the brief remainder of his life, almost all public or active participation in political struggles.

Rufus Choate\* filled at the Bar a place fully as eminent as was Mr. Raymond's place in journalism. Few men so celebrated in America are so little known in this country; and the reason is not far to seek. We hear little of foreign lawyers unless they are either politicians, whose names become familiar to us outside of their profession, or judges like Kent and Story, whose writings have established their rank among those masters of jurisprudence who have laid the foundation of legal science. Mr. Choate, though he was twice elected to the House of Representatives, and though he succeeded Mr. Webster as Senator from Massachusetts, never figured in the first rank of politicians; and he never attained the Bench. A seat in the Supreme Court at Washington, which alone would have given him a position at all equal to that he held at the Bar, was not offered to him; and he declined a place in the corresponding Court of his own State. He was too busy as an advocate to attain reputation as a writer on legal subjects; and was at once too anxious for his family, and too careless and liberal in money matters, to allow himself to be drawn aside by ambition or caprice from a profession in which, for a long time, his gains were by no means proportionate either to his labours or his fame. He could not afford to leave the Bar; and thus one of the finest orators that America ever produced—an orator reckoned by excellent judges the equal or superior of Webster—made comparatively little impression on the politics of his time, and one of the best lawyers that ever practised in her Courts has left behind him no evidence of his great abilities except in the memory of his contemporaries and in the present biography. The great space which is filled in the latter by professional anecdotes and by accounts of the more celebrated cases in which he appeared in itself shows how large a space in his thoughts and in his life was occupied by his profession. As the biography of the foremost American advocate of his time, the book has its value; as a record of the few remaining speeches of a great orator, and of the sayings and doings of a very clever, humorous, and genial gentleman, it contains much pleasant reading; but it seems a meagre tale indeed to be all that remains of one in whom Webster acknowledged an equal and hoped a successor.

The United States, as they offer no titles or ribands to the officers of a victorious army, are consistent in awarding neither medal nor clasp to the privates. But the desire to preserve an honourable memorial of hard service is one which no Republican doctrine can eradicate from the soldier's mind; and it was only natural that the disbanded armies of the Civil War should endeavour to supply, by voluntary organization, the want of any official recognition of the volunteer soldiers of the Union. Hence the Societies into which the officers and men of the several Federal armies enrolled themselves provided each of their members with a badge closely resembling, though far surpassing in splendour, the riband and medal of European Governments, and endeavoured to keep alive the sense of comradeship, and the memories of the camp and the march, by periodical meetings. A sort of official sanction was given to their proceedings by the participation of General Sherman, now Commander-in-Chief, who in 1868 issued an invitation to the late soldiers of the Western armies to meet at Chicago on the 15th and 16th of December. The assemblage, under the presidency of the conqueror of Georgia, and graced by the presence of nearly all the most distinguished of his colleagues and subordinates in command, was brilliant and imposing; and it is not surprising that those who conducted it should have chosen to preserve a permanent record of the proceedings. A volume† has accordingly been published, containing a full report of all that took place—of speeches, toasts, songs and recitations—and illustrated by portraits of the principal Generals and coloured engravings of the respective badges of the four Western armies. It is a work which to the outside world is little more than an object of curiosity, but which tens of thousands of those who served under Sherman,

Thomas, and Rosencranz will number among their most cherished possessions.

The *Franklin*, the flagship of Admiral Farragut, whom his countrymen regard as the one naval officer who can claim to share the laurels of Grant and Sherman, was sent in 1867-68 on a cruise, half of pleasure half of compliment, in European waters. The ship visited in succession the chief naval ports of every country in Europe, and the Admiral and his staff exchanged salutes and personal courtesies with the chief officers of the several navies, were received by most of the sovereigns of the Continent, and had the honour of entertaining the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh on board the *Franklin*. Of all these international civilities and Royal compliments a minute account is given in the history of the voyage\* which has been published by an officer of the Admiral's staff, and which will no doubt be read with interest by the class of readers for whose benefit the *Court Circular* chronicles every walk and ride, every visit paid or received by Royalty—a class not less numerous in democratic than in monarchical countries. The fulsome flattery of the dedication gives evidence that the chronicler is admirably fitted for his work; and the promise is not belied.

A translation of some of the discourses of Father Hyacinthe†, by a New York pastor, to which is prefixed a brief memoir of the preacher, will derive its chief interest from a brief introductory letter which Father Hyacinthe has been induced to write to the translator, and in which the good Father displays a charity and liberality which will be more agreeable to his Protestant admirers than to his Roman Catholic friends.

Matrimonial rights and duties form a favourite topic with certain American essayists, especially now that the doctrines of female equality on the one hand, and those of the Mormons, the Shakers, the advocates of Free Love, and the legislators who have made so near an approach to free divorce on the other, have put the upholders of the Old-World morality upon their defence. The work before us‡ deals with the subject from various points of view—phenological, personal, moral, social, and prudential; and if it contains nothing novel or striking, it is at all events harmless, honest, and sensible.

Of the character of the *Ahiman Rezon*, and *Freemason's Guide*, we are of course incompetent to say more than that it appears to be the work of a mason thoroughly loyal to his craft, inasmuch as he maintains to the uttermost the loftiest pretensions put forth on its behalf as a system of esoteric religion and morality, and sets forth its principles and ritual at enormous length without betraying its secrets, or indicating, otherwise than by sudden blanks occurring in the midst of passages apparently of the most harmless purport, that it has any secrets to betray.

Mr. Edwin de Leon, formerly U.S. Consul-General in Egypt, has engrafted his recollections of Oriental scenery and diplomatic ceremonial on a sensational tale of Egyptian tyranny entitled *Askaros Kassiss the Copt*.|| The *Professor's Wife*¶ is a domestic sentimental, and rather melancholy story of American life. *Helen Erskine*\*\* is one of those novels in which the language and the sentiments are alike so highflown and so remote from those of real life, even in its most romantic or most affected phases, as to soar at once above human interest and practical criticism, for not even a critic can continue for many pages to breathe so rarefied an atmosphere. *Two Lives in One*†† is a sensation story somewhat highly spiced, which has, however, the merit of introducing the reader to the haunts of New York thieves, and making him acquainted with phases of Transatlantic life which he might fail to discover under any other guidance.

\* *Our Admiral's Flag Abroad. The Cruise of Admiral D. G. Farragut, commanding the European Squadron in 1867-68 in the Flag Ship "Franklin."* By James Eglinton Montgomery, A.M., of the Admiral's Staff. New York: Putnam & Son. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

† *Discourses on Various Occasions.* By the Rev. Father Hyacinthe, late Superior of the Barefooted Carmelites of Paris and Preacher of the Conferences of Notre Dame. Translated by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Brooklyn, N.W. With a Biographical Sketch. New York: Putnam & Son. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

‡ *Wedlock; or, the Right Relations of the Sexes. Disclosing the Laws of Conjugal Selection, and showing who may, and who may not, Marry.* By S. R. Wells, Author of "New Physiognomy," "How to Read Character," and Editor of the "Phenological Journal." New York: Wells. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

§ *The General Ahiman Rezon, and Freemason's Guide; containing Monumental Instructions in the Degrees of entered Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master Mason.* With explanatory Notes, Emendations, and Lectures. Together with the Ceremonies of Consecration and Dedication of New Lodges, Installation of Grand and Subordinate Officers, Laying Foundation Stones, Dedication of Masonic Halls, Grand Visitations, Burial Services, Regulations for Processions, Masonic Calendar, &c. To which are added a Ritual for a Lodge of Sorrow, and the Ceremonies of Consecrating Masonic Cemeteries. Also, an Appendix, with the forms of Masonic Documents, Masonic Trials, &c. By Daniel Lickels, 33°, Author of the "Freemason's Monitor," Secretary-General of the Supreme Council, Northern Jurisdiction, &c. New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.

|| *Askaros Kassiss the Copt. A Romance of Modern Egypt.* By Edwin de Leon, late U.S. Consul-General for Egypt. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

¶ *The Professor's Wife; or it Might Have Been.* By Annie L. Macgregor, Author of "John Ward's Governess." Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

\*\* *Helen Erskine.* By Mrs. M. Harrison Robinson. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

†† *Two Lives in One.* By Vioux Moustache, Author of "Our Fresh and Salt Tutors; or, That Good Old Time." With a Frontispiece by F. O. C. Darley. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1870.

\* *The Life of Rufus Choate.* By Samuel Gilman Brown, President of Hamilton College. Second Edition. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1870.

† *The Army Reunion.* With Reports of the Meetings of the Societies of the Army of the Cumberland, the Army of the Tennessee, the Army of the Ohio, and the Army of Georgia; Chicago, Dec. 15 and 16, 1868. Publishing Committee: F. T. Sherman, Wm. E. Strong, R. W. Smith, A. C. McClure. Chicago: Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.



*The Cathedral*\*, by Mr. J. R. Lowell, is printed on thick toned paper, and prettily got up as a gift-book—a purpose for which some others of the author's poems would have seemed more appropriate. This particular edition, as intimated by a prefatory note, owes its appearance to the partiality of a friend. *Xariffa's Poems*†—all short pieces, displaying some facility in versification and an imitative turn—belong, we fear, to that class of poetry of which neither gods nor men are tolerant, but which in these days not unfrequently loads the shelves of the booksellers.

\* *The Cathedral*. By James Russel Lowell. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1870.  
† *Xariffa's Poems*. M.A.T. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Fribner & Co. 1870.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

The SATURDAY REVIEW is duly registered for transmission abroad.

The publication of the SATURDAY REVIEW takes place on Saturday mornings, in time for the early trains, and copies may be obtained in the Country, through any Newsagent, on the day of publication.

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London: Published at 38 SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

**SOCIETY OF FEMALE ARTISTS will CLOSE Saturday,** April 9.—Gallery, 9 Conduit Street, Regent Street.—EXHIBITION OF WORKS NOW OPEN, including St. Hubert Stag, by Rosa Bonheur.—Admission, 1s.

**NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, removed from Great** George Street, Westminster, to Exhibition Road, South Kensington, will be RE-OPENED on Monday next, the 28th instant. Public days—Monday, Tuesday, and Saturday.

By Order of the Trustees,  
GEORGE SCHARF, Secretary and Keeper.

**GUSTAVE DORE.—DORE GALLERY, 35 New Bond Street.** EXHIBITION OF PICTURES (including "ROSSINI," "TITANIA," "FRANCISCA DE RIMINI," &c.), Daily, at the New Gallery, from Ten to Five.—Admission, 1s.

**ELIJAH WALTON'S ALPINE and EGYPTIAN** PICTURES.—The WINTER EXHIBITION NOW OPEN at the Pall Mall Gallery, 35 Pall Mall (Mr. W. M. Thompson's). Admission, 1s.—From Ten till Six.

**ART UNION OF LONDON.**—Subscription, One Guinea. PRIZEHOLDERS select from the PUBLIC EXHIBITIONS. Every Subscriber has advantage of a valuable Prize, and in addition receives a Volume of Twenty Illustrations of "HEREWARD THE WAKE" by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, engraved by C. G. LEWIS, from the Original Drawings by H. C. SELIGS. The Book is now on delivery to Subscribers. Subscription List closes 31st instant.

44 West Strand,  
March 1, 1870. LEWIS POCOCK,  
EDMUND E. ANTROBUS, Hon. Secs.

**ARTISTS' BENEVOLENT FUND, for the RELIEF** of their WIDOWS and ORPHANS.  
Under the Patronage of the QUEEN.  
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The SIXTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY DINNER will take place at the Freemasons' Tavern, on Saturday, April 2, 1870.  
The Right Hon. Viscount ENFIELD, M.P., in the Chair.

Stewards, 1870.  
Field-Marshal Sir John F. Burgoyne, Bart.,  
G.C.B., R.E.  
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H. Warren, Esq., K.L., Pr. N.W.C. Soc.  
J. C. Wilson, Esq., M.A.  
A. Willmore, Esq.

Tickets, 21s. Dinner on Table at Six o'clock.

I. YOUNG, Secretary.

INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS.—NOTICE.—

The ELEVENTH SESSION of the INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS will take place on Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of April next. The Meeting on Wednesday will be held in the Lecture Theatre, at the SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM; the Meetings on the other three days, at the Hall of the SOCIETY of ARTS, John Street, Adelphi, London; Morning Meetings at Twelve, and Evening Meetings on Thursday and Friday at Seven.

Papers on the Principles of Naval Construction, on Practical Ship-building, on Steam Navigation, on the Equipment and Management of Ships for Merchandise and for War, will be read at these Meetings.

C. W. MERRIFIELD, Hon. Secretary.

ST. MARK'S HOSPITAL for FISTULA, &c., City Road.—A

DINNER in Commemoration of the THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of the FOUNDATION of this CHARITY will be held at the Albion Tavern, Aldersgate Street, on Monday, April 25, at Six o'clock precisely.

Mr. Sheriff PATERSON in the Chair.

First List of Stewards.

Allard, Edward, Esq.	Gowland, P. Y., Esq., F.R.C.S.
Atkinson, Wm., Esq., F.R.C.S.	Gwy, Thomas, Esq.
Barron, Fred., Esq.	Haddock, Henry, Esq.
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Briggs, Henry, Esq.	Kingsford, Charles, Esq.
Briscoe, J. Ivatt, Esq., M.P.	King, C. F., Esq.
Carey, Wm. J., Esq.	Laurel, Arthur, Esq., M.D.
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Deshwood, Colonel.	Potter, Mr. Secretary.
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Faulkner, J., Esq.	Wormald, Arthur F., Esq.
	Wright, George, Esq.

Tickets (price 21s.) may be obtained at the Albion, or at the London Tavern, from the Secretary, or any of the Stewards.  
Donations and Subscriptions are received by the Treasurer, R.D. B. MARTIN, Esq., 68 Lombard Street; by the Collector, Mr. FRED. WEAVER, 2 Burygate Terrace, Kentish Town; or by the SECRETARY, at the Hospital.

March 19, 1870. By Order, J. PIKE, Secretary.

MALVERN COLLEGE.—The NEXT TERM will commence on Wednesday, May 4.

EASTBOURNE COLLEGE.

Established 1857.

President.

His Grace the DUKE of DEVONSHIRE, K.G., Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.

Head-Master.

The Rev. THOMPSON PODMORE, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

The ensuing Term will commence on Thursday, May 5.

For particulars apply to the Secretary, Major GARRARD, the College, Eastbourne.

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The MILITARY and CIVIL DEPARTMENT of this College, in addition to preparation for those Services, furnishes the means of a sound General Education to BOYS not intended for the Universities.

F. T. GARRARD, Secretary.

DULWICH COLLEGE.—EIGHT SCHOLARSHIPS in the

Upper School, of the value of £20 a Year, will be awarded by an EXAMINATION to be held at the College on the 4th and 5th of May next. Candidates must be between Twelve and Fourteen Years of Age; Residents in one of the privileged Districts, or (failing qualified Candidates from those Districts) Boys of the specified Age already attending the College. Further particulars may be obtained on application to the SCHOOL SECRETARY, Dulwich College, S.E.

HYDE PARK COLLEGE, 115 Gloucester Terrace, Hyde

Park, W.

The JUNIOR TERM begins April 1.

The SENIOR TERM begins April 29.

Prospectuses, containing Terms and Names of Professors, may be had on application.

GERMANY.—LADIES' COLLEGE, EISENACH, Saxe-

Weimar, Founded in 1858, and Conducted by FRAULEIN MODER, M.C.P., who will be in London at the beginning of April. Particulars and Prospectuses kindly forwarded by: London.—L. SCHMITZ, Esq., Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., International College, Spring Grove; A. PRITCHARD, Esq., M.R.L., St. Paul's Road; Professor SCHMIDT, M.D., Ph.D., Military Academy, Woolwich. Manchester.—ROBERT GLADSTONE, Esq., Highfield; the Rev. W. M'KERRROW, D.D., Upper Brook Street.

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EMRA (B.A. in Classical Honours, and late Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford), with the consent and co-operation of his Sister (Mrs. H. F. FARBROTHER), continues to receive PUPILS, from six years old. The House is large and comfortable, and stands high. Terms moderate. Mrs. FARBROTHER receives CHILDREN whose Parents are abroad in India or elsewhere. References to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester; the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Salisbury; the Earl Nelson, Trafalgar, Salisbury; Sir C. Russell, Bart., V.C., Swallowfield, Reading; Rev. G. G. Bradley, Head-Master of Marlborough College; Rev. A. P. Purvis-Cust, Rural Dean, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading; G. W. King, Esq., 41 Upper Brunswick Place, Brighton, and many others.—Address, Rev. W. II. EMRA, Russell House, Reading.

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AMINATION will be held on June 29, and following days, for admission to THREE BOARDING-HOUSE SCHOLARSHIPS, tenable for Two Years, open to Boys under Thirteen Years of Age, viz.: One of £20 per annum, and Two of £25, with Free Nomination in each case. They will be awarded for Proficiency either (1) in Classics, (2) in Mathematics, (3) in either Latin or Mathematics, with English, and French or German.

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EDUCATION of UNIVERSITY STUDENTS DURING the

SUMMER MONTHS.

ST. ANDREWS COLLEGE HALL.

J. B. HASLAM, Esq., M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Warden.  
The SUMMER SESSION of the St. Andrews College Hall (in connection with the University of St. Andrews) will commence on Tuesday, May 10. Students of other Universities may be admitted on the same conditions as St. Andrews Students. Work will be done in Classics, Mathematics, Modern History, and some branch of Natural Science. All particulars as to Board, &c., may be obtained by applying to the WARDEN, or to the TREASURER.  
Applications must be made by May 1.

St. Andrews, March 17, 1870. STUART GRACE, Treasurer.

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**AN OXFORD MAN**, late Scholar of his College, and an old Etonian, has a few Vacancies for PUPILS to be prepared for Eton and other Public Schools.—Address, Rev. S. GOLDSBY, Braunston, Rugby.

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**UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO, NEW ZEALAND.**—The Council of this University are now prepared to consider Applications from CANDIDATES for Two of the PROFESSORIAL CHAIRS which they have resolved to institute—viz. 1st, for Classics, including Greek, Latin, and the English Language and Literature; and 2nd, for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

The Salary attached to each Chair will be £600 per annum, which will commence to run from the date of Embarcation, besides the Class Fees, which have been fixed at £3.5s. for attendance on each Professor, per term of Six Months, commencing in the beginning of May of each year. An adequate allowance will be made for Passage Money and Outfit.

All Candidates must be Graduates of some established and recognised University. No religious test will, however, be required from any Person to entitle him to hold office in the University, or to graduate or to hold any advantage or privilege thereof.

Applications from Candidates must be addressed to JOHN AITCH, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh, Agent of the Province of Otago in Britain, and must be accompanied with Testimonials and Certificates. They must be in his hands on or before the First Day of April next.

Further information relative to the University and the Statistics of the Province will be afforded on application to the Agent.

60 Princes Street, Edinburgh,  
February 5, 1870.

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At 5 per cent. per ann., subject to 12 months' Notice of Withdrawal.

At 4 ditto ditto ditto 6 ditto ditto

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Bills issued at the current exchange of the day on any of the Branches of the Bank, free of extra charge; and Approved Bills purchased or sent for collection.

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Prompt and liberal Loss Settlements.

The whole Fire Insurance Duty is now Remitted.

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BRANCH OFFICE.—16 PALL MALL, LONDON.

INSTITUTED 1820.

The Liabilities are, in respect of Sums Assured and Bonuses, £2,750,000; and in respect of Annuities only £250 per annum.

The Assets actually invested in First-class Securities amount to £972,021.

Of the Subscribed Capital of £750,000, only £75,000 is paid up.

All kinds of Assurance effected at moderate rates and on very liberal conditions.

Prospectus and Balance Sheet to be had on application.

ANDREW BADEN, Actuary and Manager.

**IMPERIAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.**

1 OLD BROAD STREET, E.C., and 16 and 17 PALL MALL, S.W.

INSTITUTED 1803.

CAPITAL, £1,600,000. PAID UP AND INVESTED, £700,000.

Insurances against Fire can be effected with this Company on every description of Property, at moderate rates of premium.

Policies falling due at Lady Day should be renewed before April 9, or the same will become Void.

The recent abolition of the duty on Fire Insurance should induce Policy-holders and all intending Insurers to protect themselves fully from loss by Fire, which can now be done at a net annual cost of from 1s. 6d. per cent. upwards.

Septennial Policies charged only Six Years' Premium.

Prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.

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Policies of this Society are guaranteed by very ample Funds; receive Nine-tenths of the total Profits as Bonus; enjoy peculiar "Whole-World" and other distinctive privileges; and are protected by special conditions against liability to future question.

#### FINANCIAL POSITION ON JANUARY 1, 1870.

Annual Income	£210,000
Invested Funds	1,283,000
Existing Assurances	4,200,000
Reversionary Bonus thereon	5,400,000
Insurance Claims and Bonus paid	1,280,000
Share Capital fully subscribed	1,000,000
Paid up	160,000

Annual Accounts have always been published in full detail.

Loans are granted on the Security of Life Interests or Reversions.

E. A. NEWTON, Actuary and Manager.

**HAND-IN-HAND FIRE and LIFE INSURANCE SOCIETY.**

1 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON, E.C.

The Oldest Insurance Office in existence. Founded and still conducted on the Mutual System.

Large Returns made to Members in each Department.

The whole of the Profits are divided annually amongst the Members of Five years' standing and upwards—there being no Shareholders.

The rate of abatement of Premium thereby given for the current year on Life Policies is 60 per cent. for the Old Series, and 50 per cent. for the New Series.

The rate of return on Septennial Fire Policies (charged at 1s. 6d. per cent.) is 66 per cent.

The Directors are willing to appoint as Agents persons of good position and character.

December 31, 1869.

Claims paid on Life Policies to this date

Returned in Abatement of Premiums ditto

#### ASSETS.

Accumulated Fund

Present Value of Life Premiums

Present Value of Sums Insured (13,246,347)

Present Value of Life Annuities (£29,053 per annum)

#### LIABILITIES.

Further details as to the Assets and Liabilities of the Office may be had on application to the Secretary.

**GUARDIAN FIRE and LIFE OFFICE.** ESTABLISHED 1821.

Subscribed Capital, Two Millions.

11 LOMBARD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

#### Directors.

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Deputy-Chairman—FREDERICK H. JANSON, Esq.

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Richard M. Harvey, Esq.

Edmund Carr, Esq.

J. G. Hildard, Esq.

G. J. Shaw Levevre, Esq., M.P.

Charles Wm. Curtis, Esq.

John Martin, Esq.

Rowland Mitchell, Esq.

Sir W. R. Fauglar, Bart.

James Morris, Esq.

Abraham J. Roberts, Esq.

Thomson Hankey, Esq.

Henry Vigne, Esq.

Secretary—Thomas Tallmarch, Esq.

Actuary—Saml. Brown, Esq.

N.B.—Fire Policies which expire at Lady-Day must be renewed at the Head Office, or with the Agents, on or before April 9.

The Government Duty is totally abolished.

Prospectus and Forms of Proposal, with Statement of the Assets and Liabilities in the Life Branch, free on application to the Company's Agents, or to the Secretary.

**ROCK LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.**

ESTABLISHED A.D. 1806.

15 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON, E.C.

#### Directors.

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D. A. Freeman, Esq.

G. A. Fuller, Esq.

J. Goddard, Esq.

R. Gordon, Esq., F.R.S.

J. Kelk, Esq.

S. Laurence, Esq.

T. H. Lousche, Esq.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. St. P. Lawrence, K.C.B., G.C.B.

C. T. Lucas, Esq.

J. D. Muggins, Esq.

C. Hives, Esq.

W. B. Towse, Esq.

H. Tritton, Esq.

S. H. Twining, Esq.

The ROCK LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, which has been established upwards of Half a Century, has an Accumulated Fund of more than THREE MILLIONS STERLING, invested in Mortgages on Land, and other first-class Securities:

Viz. on August 20, 1868

Sum Assured, inclusive of Bonus Additions—at that date

Estimated Liability thereon (Northampton Table of Mortality,

3 per cent. Interest)

That is less than one-half the Fund invested

Total Amount of Bonus Additions made to Policies

Amount of Profits divided for the Seven Years ending 20th August, 1868

Annual Income

Total Claims paid—inclusive of Bonus Additions

Copies of the Annual Reports and Balance Sheets, as well as of the Periodical Valuation Accounts, Tables of Rates, and every information, to be obtained on application.

JOHN RAYDEN, Actuary.

H. W. PORTER, Sub-Actuary.

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# ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE CORPORATION.

(Established by Charter of His Majesty George the First.)  
FOR SEA, FIRE, LIFE, AND ANNUITIES.  
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CHARLES JOHN MANNING, Esq., Deputy-Governor.

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John Garratt Cutler, Esq.  
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Joseph Somes, Esq.  
William Wallace, Esq.  
Charles Baring Young, Esq.

Medical Referee—SAMUEL SOLLY, Esq., F.R.S.

NOTICE.—The usual Fifteen Days allowed for payment of FIRE PREMIUMS falling due at Lady-Day will expire on April 15.  
FIRE AND LIFE ASSURANCES may be effected on advantageous terms.  
FIRE DUTY.—This Tax having been abolished, the Premium is now the only Charge for the Insurance.

FARMING-STOCK.—No extra charge is made for the use of Steam Thrashing-Machines. Equivalent reductions have been made in the Premiums payable by persons who preferred that form of Bonus.  
The Divisions of Profit take place every Five Years.  
Any sum not exceeding £15,000 may be insured on One Life.  
This Corporation affords to the Assured—  
Liberal participation in Profits, with the guarantee of a large invested Capital Stock, and exemption, under Royal Charter, from the liabilities of partnership.  
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3-inch fine Ivory Balance Handles.....	18	14	5
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3-inch fine Ivory Handles.....	24	21	5
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